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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN OBSERVERS COMPARING U.S., SOVIET MILITARY POSTURES HIT

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by V. Bogdanov: "Pentagon Advocates"]

[Text] The special services and ideological saboteurs of the West, obediently fulfilling the instructions from above, are hammering into the minds of people the concept of the "equal responsibility" of the West and East for the arms race. One of its moving spirits in English sociologist and historian E. Thompson. According to the logic of his arguments, nuclear weapon systems are living and dynamically developing organisms which, "it appears, grow by themselves and as if have an independent will." The development of new types of weapons and the escalation of the power of means of destruction reflect "the force of inertia, which the research and development, which are conducted within the military-industrial complexes of the opposing powers, have." In the opinion of Thompson, the reproduction of means of mass destruction takes place as if independent of the social systems which exist in the world. Politics and ideology merely give support to the "alchemists" of weapons, but scientific research and the development of new types of arms have themselves ostensibly become "independent" of political and state institutions.

Thompson depicts Moscow and Washington as such a couple which has joined in a "waltz of death." Each of the sides, he asserts, whips up its own "autonomous extremism," copying the other.

As a result Thompson comes to his main conclusion: there is no essential difference between Washington and Moscow, both systems and both societies are confirmed enemies of peace, therefore the participants in the antiwar movement should come out both against the policy of the United States and against the Soviets.

The theory of "equal responsibility" gives an opportunity to those in the West, who consider themselves "reasonable-minded people," and a basis for a compromise: it separates them from the frenzied fanatics, who believe in the "Soviet threat," and, on the other, provides insurance, making it possible to preserve a "decent" share of anticommunism. In short, "equal responsibility" for them is a platform, a shield and insurance. Let us recall former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. In his political activity, especially in recent years, using the myth of "equal responsibility," he came out with

sharp remarks meant for Reagan. And then and there he chastised the supporters of the peace movement for their anti-American sentiments. But as a result he finally became confused and began to aspire to a position somewhere "in the middle" and, perhaps, a little "above."

But the truth lies not "above" and not "in the middle." The responsive nature of Soviet defense measures is obvious. As well-known American political scientist Michael Parenti noted, it would be more accurate to call the arms race "a race for arms," in which the Soviet Union at each spiral is forced to seek means of protection against a real threat. The ideologists of "equal responsibility" have not been able to present convincing evidence that militarism is inherent in Soviet society or that the Soviet Army has any "special" interests.

Soviet political and military figures constantly talk about the danger of a nuclear war and the madness of the arms race. They are appealing for the making of major, but proportionate reductions in nuclear and conventional arms on the basis of parity and equal security. Here is what Arthur Macy Cox, who previously served in the State Department and the CIA as a specialist in Soviet affairs and arms control, writes: "All the Soviet leaders agree that in a nuclear war there can be no winners, that it brings only universal death."

But what do we see on the part of the United States? Stimulating waves of anti-Sovietism, which surged one after another ("the lag in missiles," "the window of vulnerability" and so on), for nearly the past 40 years it has been the leader of the arms race. It is the United States which developed the atomic bomb, nuclear-powered submarines, MIRVed missiles, cruise missiles, neutron weapons and so forth.

All this is by no means "achievements" of only the present administration. It is merely an obedient puppet in the hands of the military-industrial complex, which had begun an active offensive against the process of detente. In early 1976 a handful of right-wing ideologists crowded under the banners of such organizations as the Committee for the Present Danger and the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, in order to oppose together the "harmful" influence of detente. Pressure was exerted on President Ford to permit the making of an "independent" analysis of the intelligence data of the CIA on USSR defense spending. And here what was called "group B" under the direction of Richard Pipes, who has a fanatical hatred of the Soviet Union, came out with the stunning "news" that the CIA had underestimated Soviet arms spending by at least 50 percent! The Soviets, it turns out, during the period of detente had spent a fantastic sum of money for military purposes!

Now the truth about the provocation has become well known to the public, but at that time the forgery played its role. Now new attempts are being made to pass off white as black. It is sufficient to recall the propaganda pamphlets "Soviet Military Power," which are published by the Pentagon. The Defense Information Center, which is considered the most reliable source of data in Washington, stated that these pamphlets "are designed first of all for the justification of the enormous U.S. defense budget," that "there was no decade of oversights." And further: "In reality during the 1970's the number of

nuclear weapons in the United States increased from 4,000 to 9,200--this increase is more than that of the Soviet Union. During the same decade NATO spent on arms approximately \$300 billion more than the Warsaw Pact countries....."

Soviet bases and military facilities are not dispersed throughout the world. The USSR also does not have a defense industry, which is stirred by the powerful stimulus of a profit, has grown accustomed to chronic cost overruns and has turned into a legalized tool of the pumping of billions of dollars from the pockets of taxpayers into the safes of private corporations. Soviet troops have never been used for the purpose of upsetting the strategic balance.

An incorrect diagnosis is not a question of morals. It is a question of life. The theory of "equal responsibility" glosses over an obvious fact, namely: in the arms race there is only one soloist. It is the United States of America. It is possible to compare the analysis of those who advocate "equal responsibility" with the mistake of a physician, who was not able to diagnose the cancer of one patient, but recognized the seriousness of the illness of a healthy person and demanded similar methods of treatment for both.

The myth of "equal responsibility," no less than of the "Soviet threat," is a tremendous lie. Its underlying political implication is dangerous for the fate of the world.

7807

CSO: 1807/39

INTERNATIONAL

ZHUKOV HITS ANTIWAR MOVEMENT ON 'EQUAL RESPONSIBILITY'

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by PRAVDA political commentator Yuriy Zhukov: "A Malicious Fabrication"]

[Text] The false thesis about the imaginary "equal responsibility" of the United States and the USSR for the arms race and for the developed threat of the outbreak of a nuclear war, which was brought into use by scoundrels who specialize in deceit, is being promoted intensely in the West. This malicious fabrication is being used by those who would like to weaken the antiwar movement, to deprive it of consistency of aim and to turn it, if only in part, against the socialist countries.

It is already impossible to attempt to vindicate completely the American administration, which not only is not concealing its intentions to achieve military superiority and to use it for the accomplishment of its predatory plans, but is also playing them up extensively. And here they are making use of a subtle trick: yes, they whisper in the ears of the participants in the antiwar movement, the United States is conducting an arms race, but this circumstance is to be deplored, for the Soviet Union is building up arms. Thus, both "superpowers" are responsible.

When meeting representatives of antiwar organizations of the West, at times you are convinced that this trick is having an effect on those who, being under the constant influence of anti-Soviet propaganda, do not have access to objective information. That is why it is necessary to tirelessly expose the false thesis about the "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the United States for the arms race.

Let us recall how events developed at the end of World War II and after its end.

Back before the atomic bomb, which was developed by the United States, was tested, the American administration was hatching plans, the implementation of which, as it believed, would guarantee the United States a monopoly on these weapons of mass destruction. In June 1945 in Chicago what was called the Committee for Social and Political Consequences stated self-confidently and, I would say, impudently that "the development of atomic energy IN OTHER

COUNTRIES [in boldface] (emphasized by me--Yu. Zh.) should be halted at the very start or, if such a thing will be permitted, should be placed under the control of such an international organization, in which the United States would be guaranteed a permanent majority."

When the world found out about the terrible tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the peoples resolutely demanded the banning and destruction of atomic weapons. As soon as the 1st Session of the UN General Assembly met in early 1946, it set up an atomic energy commission, which should have accomplished this task. Back on 19 April of the same year the Soviet Union submitted a draft of an international convention on the banning of the production and use of atomic weapons and on the destruction of the stockpiles of finished and unfinished products of these weapons.

Who prevented this? The United States. Why? Just because in Washington they had decided that their monopoly on the production of the atomic bomb would be preserved forever and that the United States could thus keep the entire world in fear and submission. What was left for the USSR to do? Only one thing: for the purpose of self-preservation and in the interests of universal peace it was forced in the late 1940's to develop its own nuclear weapons.

So is it possible to speak about the equal responsibility of the USSR and the United States for the development of these weapons of mass destruction?

Let us go farther. In the early 1950's the United States set up in Western Europe a so-called forward-basing system--it deployed there bombers which were capable of reaching our territory with nuclear weapons. But this seems too little to the American generals. At that time they launched a false campaign on the imaginary "lag" of the United States behind the USSR in bombers. The Pentagon frightened the Congress and exacted from it allocations for the construction of an entire force of intercontinental strategic bombers which were capable of attacking the USSR with nuclear weapons. They it was cynically declared that the Pentagon had made a "mistake": the number of Soviet bombers had been overstated by three- to fourfold. As to Soviet intercontinental bombers, they were developed only in the late 1950's in response to the development of American intercontinental bombers.

So is it possible to speak about the equal responsibility of the USSR and the United States for the development of strategic aircraft?

In the early 1960's a new hysterical stir arose in Washington: it was declared that the United States "lags" behind the USSR in the deployment of ground-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. After this stir, which made it easier to obtain assets for the production and deployment of more than 1,000 (!) of these missiles, they announced rather quietly that the Pentagon had again "made a mistake" and had exaggerated the Soviet "missile threat" by 10- to 20-fold. Not more and not less! Of course, subsequently the USSR took the necessary step in order to create, while ensuring its security, equality in missiles--we did not have another alternative.

So is it possible to speak about the equal responsibility of the USSR and the United States for the nuclear missile race, which was launched by the Pentagon back in the late 1950's?

However, the Pentagon also did not stop at this. It prepared newer and newer spirals of the arms race in the hope that American scientists and engineers would finally be able to develop such military equipment as the Soviets would fail to conceive, and then superiority would remain with the United States.

In the middle of the 1950's the United States built the first nuclear-powered submarine named the "Nautilus," and in 1960 it already had 3 nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarines which had 48 nuclear warheads. At that time the USSR did not have one nuclear-powered underwater ship of that type.

Could the USSR have remained indifferent to the increasing threat to its security? Of course not. In 1967 the first 2 nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarines, which had 32 nuclear warheads, appeared in our country.

So is it possible to speak about the equal responsibility of the USSR and the United States for the development of a nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarine fleet?

In the middle of the 1970's the USSR proposed at the United Nations to conclude an agreement on the banning of the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. In February 1976 at the 25th CPSU Congress it was proposed to ban new, more destructive systems, including new submarines like the Trident in the United States and similar submarines in the USSR.

Who resists this? Again the United States. Why? Because its generals and industrialists reckoned that our industry would not be able to develop anything like the Tridents. But 1981 approached, and in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress it was stated: "At one time we proposed to ban the development of the Trident sea-based missile system in the United States and the corresponding system in our country. This proposal was not accepted. As a result the Americans built the new submarine 'Ohio' with Trident-1 missiles. A similar system--Typhoon--was also developed in our country. And who gained from this?"

Then at the 26th CPSU Congress it was proposed "to reach an agreement on the limitation of the deployment of new missile-carrying submarines--in the United States like the 'Ohio' and ones similar to it in the USSR." How did the United States respond to this? With a rejection. What is the result? Now they have already built five submarines like the "Ohio," and another six are being built.

Of course, under these conditions the USSR is forced to be concerned about maintaining a parity of nuclear weapons, and although we have two-fifths as many nuclear warheads on ballistic missiles, which are based on submarines, than the United States, as a whole, with allowance made for other types of strategic weapons, approximate parity in strategic nuclear weapons exists between the USSR and the United States.

I have cited only a few examples. It would be possible to continue the list of them, and the gist of the matter would remain the same--the United States has constantly developed new types of weapons, and the USSR has had to respond to this challenge, since Washington does not wish to come to a stop in this senseless race. Such was the case both with the development of multiple warheads of nuclear missiles and with the development of long-range cruise missiles and a large number of other types of weapons.

Now in spite of the urgent appeals of the USSR to prevent the militarization of space the U.S. administration is also stubbornly evading talks on this issue, while its defense research institutes and aerospace industry are working feverishly on the development of new assault weapon systems for conducting warfare in space and from space in respect to earth.

So how is it possible after this to speak about the "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the United States for the arms race? How is it possible to appeal to the Soviet Union for unilateral disarmament, as some figures of the West are doing, trying to persuade us that in such a case the gentlemen from Washington will be conscience-stricken and will halt the arms race? How is it possible to state that "the declaration of the USSR on the rejection of a first strike is not enough--let it also reject a second (that is, retaliatory!--Yu. Zh.) strike"?

But, imagine, such people exist, although it should be clear to everyone that in case of the use by an aggressor of nuclear weapons terrible retribution--an all-out counterattack--should await him. The rejection of this would be equivalent to suicide.

The limitation, stage-by-stage reduction, and then the complete elimination of weapons of mass destruction are conceivable only in case of the most strict observance of the principle of parity and equal security, which was recorded in the Soviet-American agreements of 1972-1973, but is now being rejected by the American administration. Just on 5 September President Reagan, addressing the congress of the reactionary organization, the American Legion, stated that the creation of a "margin of safety," that is, arms superiority, is a subject of his concerns.

The answer to the question, who bears the responsibility for the arms race, is quite clear--this responsibility rests utterly and completely with the United States. Whoever sincerely wishes to fight against this race, should draw the necessary conclusions from this fact.

Concerned people of America, who treat responsibly the fate of their country, understand this. Here is what prominent American figure G. Kennan, former ambassador to the USSR, whom, incidentally, it is in no way possible to suspect of "pro-Soviet" stands, said back in 1981: "Do not let yourself be misled, placing the entire blame on the USSR. Namely we Americans at every step went first in the development of this (nuclear--Yu. Zh.) type of weapons, namely we were the first to produce and test these weapons, namely we were the first to raise their destructive force to a new level, namely we are turning down any proposal on the rejection of first use of nuclear weapons, and namely

we, finally, used these weapons against tens of thousands of helpless peaceful inhabitants."

But the malicious fabrication about the "equal responsibility" of the United States and the USSR is being used again and again by those who would like to disorient world public opinion and the antiwar movement and to turn them against the Soviet Union.

It is all the more important today to tirelessly oppose to this insincere maneuver the real data on the genuine stand of our great socialist power, which was clearly formulated by Comrade K. U. Chernenko: "The curbing of the nuclear arms race, of course, is of crucial importance for peace and the security of nations. The position of the USSR on this issue is clear. We are opposed to competition in the building up of nuclear arsenals. We were and remain advocates of the banning and destruction of all types of these weapons."

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CSO: 1807/39

INTERNATIONAL

CHINESE, UIGHUR TRANSLATIONS OF UZBEK AUTHOR

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 11 November 1984 carries on page 4 a 250-word article by T. Nikolayeva titled "In Chinese and Uighur." The article relates the publication by the Beijing Publishing House of Chinese and Uighur translations of the novel "Sovest'" [Conscience] by Uzbek SSR State Prize laureate Adyl Yakubov. Published with the book was a letter signed by Takhir Talib, Mukhammادتursun, and Abdukarim, members of the editorial collegium of the newspaper KASHKAR GAZITI, published in Xinjiang Province. In their letter they relate the interest with which they read the new work of Yakubov, an author who has been well known to them for some time.

CSO: 1830/103

REGIONAL

SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES GEORGIAN PLENUM ON YOUTH

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Oct 84 pp 1-4

[Unattributed report: "Speech Delivered by Central Committee Politburo Candidate Member and First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze at the 6 October 1984 Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 19th Plenum: Further Improvement in the Communist Indoctrination of Youth Is a Most Important Party, State and Public Matter"]

[Text] Comrades. The work of this regular plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the 19th counting from the 26th CPSU Congress, is coming to an end. And here it must be said that although our plenum is a regular one the question that we are discussing is a priority one, paramount, of extraordinary importance, if you will.

We are proud of our beautiful youth and its glorious accomplishments, high moral cast, and boundless loyalty to the great cause of Lenin. We are proud that it is imbued with energy, initiative and daring in the creative quest, that it stands in rank with us in all bold undertakings, and is ready to develop and continue them successfully. We experience the feeling of pride as parents in their favorite children, and at the same time the pride of older comrades who have indoctrinated a reliable youthful succession.

We hold especially dear the fact that at the ceremonial meeting in Tbilisi comrade K.U. Chernenko said that the youth is not only the country's future but also today is largely determining the appearance of our motherland, and that this also applies to the republic Komsomol, which in 1979 was awarded an Order of Lenin.

However, improving the communist indoctrination of youth and perfecting party leadership over the Komsomol organizations is a constant and uninterrupted process. And the advent of a communist society depends largely on how successfully we carry out this work. Thus, it is not happenstance that our party regards this question as a priority, giving greater attention to the features of the communist indoctrination of youth at the stage of developed socialism. This is confirmed with all clarity by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, the July (1984) CPSU Central Committee decree, and the speeches and works of comrade K.U. Chernenko.

We must always proceed from the fact that the CPSU Central Committee regards further improvement in the indoctrination of the rising generation as a most important party, state and public matter, emphasizing that in the final analysis it is a matter of reliably insuring the future of our motherland.

I think that it is precisely this approach--a party, state and public approach--that has distinguished all our work in the preparation for and holding of our present Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum devoted to Komsomol and youth problems.

This approach has been profoundly party in spirit because all these problems have been thoroughly discussed, starting with the party and Komsomol meetings in the primary party organizations, right through to the party obkom, gorkom and raykom plenums.

The approach has been a truly state approach since the tasks stemming from the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Komsomol have been thoroughly examined at meetings of the Georgian SSR, Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR supreme soviet presidiums and of the South Osetian Oblast ispolkom and the ispolkoms of the oblast, city and rayon soviets of working people's deputies and the permanent commissions on youth affairs. It is precisely a statesmanlike attitude that has been shown toward the matter in all our ministries and administrations.

The approach has been truly public because questions of indoctrinating the rising generation and shaping the personality of the young individual--questions of such concern to all our public--have been discussed by all workers in the republic, in all strata of our society. Our professional organizations have played an important role in this. These problems have been discussed in an interesting way in all the creative unions.

To this should be added the meetings with various categories of youth that have taken place in almost all ministries and administrations and in the central establishments and creative unions prior to the plenum. We attach great importance to personal contacts and personal dealings by our leaders with young people. Such meetings have also taken place here in the central committee at the level of central committee secretary and department chief. I also took away great impressions from the frank and very interesting and meaningful talks with members of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee department chiefs, and with the secretaries of grassroot Komsomol organizations and representatives of the Komsomol aktiv. These kinds of dealings are not some episodic thing. In recent years we have been meeting systematically with various categories of youth at enterprises, in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in VUZ's, hostels and so forth. These are useful and necessary meetings. They enable me personally to have a better and deeper grasp of many questions, and to understand young people better.

Much interesting information is contained in the numerous comments on the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee letter to communists, Komsomol members and youth, and to all workers, published one month before the convocation of our plenum. The republic press and radio and television have done much work in discussing youth problems.

When we started to prepare for the plenum we were fully resolved to do things in such a way as to have frank and utterly trust-filled talks on the most burning youth problems. I think that these are precisely the kind of talks that did take place both at the plenary sessions themselves and at all the preparatory stages for the central committee plenum. It was the next regular, frank talk about youth and with youth. It can be boldly stated that frankness in relations with youth is for us a most important principle. The comrades in the party central committee organizational party work department and the Komsomol Central Committee and our scholars from the Institute of Party History must deeply analyze the comments that have been made and generalize all that is valuable and useful.

The central committee buro report and the speeches of comrades, which in many ways supplemented and enriched it, contained an analysis and generalization of the work experience gained by the Georgian Communist Party in improving party leadership over the Komsomol organizations and enhancing their role in the communist indoctrination of youth in the republic, starting with the well-known CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilisi party gorkom. It was precisely then that one of the main tasks was put forward: "Face the problems of youth!" And throughout all these years youth problems have constantly been at the center of our attention. It could be said that through all these years we have lived according to the principle: do not let slip even one opportunity of dealing with youth or of having frank and sincere conversations with young people. Such opportunities have included both the meetings of the student aktiv and the gatherings of schoolchildren outstanding in their studies; and the aktivs of the best young production workers in the sectors, the meetings between young people and their mentors and party veterans, and our traditional new year meetings, which have become profoundly symbolic: it is youth itself that lights up the republic's way into the New Year! All this, not to mention participation in the Komsomol congresses and in the work of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee plenums.

Thus, meetings with youth, and work with youth, and the indoctrination of youth has become not only an urgent necessity but also an inner requirement for us, a vitally important requirement. This is precisely why as long as a year ago we concluded that conditions were right for generalizing and giving meaning at a special central committee plenum to all that has been done, and together with the party and Komsomol aktiv, for defining tasks for the future.

The recently adopted CPSU Central Committee decree on further improving party leadership over the Komsomol and enhancing its role in the communist indoctrination of youth served as a fine base for holding such a plenum. The new decision on the Komsomol during the period of perfecting developed socialism shows how urgent work on the problems of indoctrinating youth and tempering it ideologically and morally is in this process, and it proves that this work has been brought to the forefront by life itself and by our sociopolitical practice.

Our talks have been very thorough. The central committee buro report distributed to the plenum participants, and other documents broadly covered all aspects of party leadership over the Komsomol and resolving youth problems in general. Taking this into account, and also the fact that we have more than once had to deal with various aspects of the communist indoctrination of the rising generation, including at central committee plenums and aktiv meetings, permit me in conclusion to deal only with some of the individual factors of this problem.

In particular, I would like to dwell on some specific tasks in the shaping of the harmoniously developed personality at the stage of mature socialism, and to talk about those qualities that are now acquiring a special and decisive significance and how best to instill them in every young person.

I.

One very important requirement facing any highly developed and highly educated person in our society today is to have a profound and clear knowledge of the main trends in social development and the skill to correctly determine his own place in these processes. To this end our youth must persistently master the basics of scientific thinking, and first and foremost economic thinking. For it is precisely comprehension of the basic law-governed patterns of economic development, and on this basis, improvement in the management of the economy and the accelerated buildup of the republic's economic potential, that in recent years has been the main strategic direction in all the organizational and political activity of the Georgian party organization.

Comrades, much has been done. Compared with 1972 the main generalizing socioeconomic indicators have virtually doubled, namely gross national product and national income, the industrial potential has doubled, the scale of capital construction have almost doubled, purchases of the main agricultural crops have doubled or tripled, and so forth. All this has been achieved with the active participation of our youth.

When speaking of the successes of the Georgian Komsomol, at the Tbilisi meeting comrade K.U. Chernenko noted that the Komsomol stands should to shoulder with the communists and under their leadership is taking a most active part in all republic matters.

And, he added, not only in the republic. Young emissaries from Georgia are doing shock work at the largest all-union construction sites. They are laboring in the multinational collectives on the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad Link and Tyumen, and on the fields of the Norchernozem zone and Kazakhstan. This labor, patriotic and international training received in the younger years, represents capital that cannot be replaced.

At the same time, everything that has been done in recent years in the field of the Georgian SSR's socioeconomic development has been accomplished on behalf of our rising generation and for its good. As we work on indefatigably, striving to achieve accelerated rates of production growth, we are pursuing first and foremost the goal of making life better for our children, and we think about and worry about our future and the future of our republic and our country as a paramount duty.

A strong economy is the basis, the foundation of all a society's social boons. Today there can be no highly developed culture or science, no high standard of living for people without a solid, stable and dynamically developing economy. And these concepts have a quite specific material incarnation. The resources that are created right there in the economic sphere, in the sphere of material production, are essential for developing the material base of science and culture. And the better and more efficiently we labor and strengthen the economic and defensive might of our motherland, the greater the opportunities that are opened up for the construction of new clubs, libraries, theaters, stadiums and so forth, for the makeup of the scientific research collectives and the construction of housing, for the expanded production of consumer goods and the augmentation of other boons in our socialist society.

We must strive to achieve a situation in which every young person has properly mastered this common truth and has recognized the basic purpose of those major transformations that are now taking place in the national economy of our republic. And for this a good knowledge of the main economic categories and of how they are shaped and formed in practice is essential.

Our youth is providing enormous help for the republic's economy, harvesting almost half of the total tea harvest, participating in the procurement of fruit and fodders, developing livestock farming, and making its contribution in industry and construction. See how this autumn the grape-growing regions received great support from our student youth, students, and Transcaucasian soldiers during the grape picking [rtveli]. But who of them really knows the significance of the help that he has given and continues to give in the republic? How many times we have spoken from the platforms of plenums and aktivs about the serious disproportions in the national economy, about the enormous strain involved in fulfilling the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan because of the considerable shortages of grapes in previous years. We have tried using all means to close this gap that has resulted from the unprecedented hail damage, and to seek out reserves in other sectors.

Notwithstanding the fate of many of our plans remains in doubt. The tasks of the State Committee of the Wine Making Industry have been amended downward by hundreds of millions of rubles, but the control figures for the republic's five-year plan remain unaltered. Thus, in order to insure an industry growth rate of 22 percent after 4 years, which is in line with the five-year plan targets, this year output in the industry must increase 6.3 percent. And in the last quarter, industry output must be increased 9 percent compared with the same period last year. How? Using what reserves?

It must be recognized that we have placed special hopes in a not bad total grape harvest, since this is one of the republic's most prolific crops. But, taking into account the gaps that were permitted last year, it would be necessary to give the harvest maximum protection. And for this it is very important to gather in the grapes in the shortest time possible. And it was here that the students gave us invaluable help. We were obliged to take them away from their studies, but I think that in this case it served only for their good. According to the current figures, about 430,000 tons of grapes had been picked in the republic up to yesterday. It is a long time since we have conducted the picking at such high rates. And along with the selflessness of our rural workers, the great conscientiousness and initiative of our youth was also shown.

A high level of economic thinking presupposes first and foremost conscientious work on the part of each worker to improve the productivity of his labor and the return from his activity, and improvement in its main assessment indicators. Under the conditions of capitalist society the harsh conditions of life itself force a person to labor until completely exhausted and literally to be sucked dry, with no concern for his health. In our society, improving efficiency and the increased intensification of production are acquiring qualitatively new content. This is the conscientious concern by each worker to augment the public good, which belongs to the people and is created for the people. And if, for example, some of our leaders work 14 or 15 hours a day then this is done not out of necessity but rather because a high awareness of our responsibility to society obliges us to do it. In this case quite different incentives move the individual and he experiences not a burden of fatigue but a sense of enormous satisfaction from the proper execution of his duty.

Efficient, shock labor brings a person joy. And this he can experience only when he has a good knowledge of the specific benefit he is bringing to his own collective, rayon, city, republic and the entire country. Economic knowledge and a conscientious attitude toward the most important economic categories constitute a very powerful motive force in our economic competition with capitalism, whose victory, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, will ultimately be insured through achieving a higher level of labor productivity.

This kind of conscientious attitude toward the main parameters of socio-economic growth and production efficiency must be instilled from an early age. Why should a pioneer who collects wastepaper or xcrap metal not know what this specifically gives his school? Our young workers are participating to the best of their strength and opportunities in implementation of the Food Program and the procurement of wild fruits and berries and medicinal herbs and plants. The incentive system itself here should be the kind that enables assessments to be made not only on the national scale but also with regard to specific cases.

Or why has competition not been organized between groups of students at the vocational and technical schools in such a way that consideration is given to indicators for labor productivity, the prime cost of the output they produce, and its quality and so forth? And in such a way that the youngsters themselves participate in the necessary calculations? For this is very important: it will come in handy for them in production.

There is another aspect to this problem, namely a demographic aspect. The increase in the able-bodied section of the population is constantly declining. On the one hand we are compensating for the adverse consequences of this trend by bringing into social production the excess labor resources available in the republic. On the other hand, however, it is extremely important to insure that the ranks of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry are replenished at a qualitatively new level. Party, soviet and economic organs must help in making the Komsomol play an even greater part in work to improve occupational training, raise the level of knowledge among youth cadres and help to shape in them competent economic thinking and an attitude of interest toward scientific and technical progress.

At the same time this knowledge should be better aimed at specific, practical matters, and at concern for steady production growth, insuring uninterrupted work, the rational consumption of resources and so forth. Here it is necessary for the Komsomol organizations to be much more active, combative, and aggressive. We have on more than one occasion talked about the one categorical requirement made of various organs: not only to record shortcomings but to take steps to eliminate them, and to fulfill organizations functions. A similar wish may be expressed with reference to our Komsomol.

Unfortunately we do have stoppages in material-technical supply, and other lack of coordination occurs. And this often happens because of stupid bungling and elements of bureacratism and conservatism. We must strive to achieve a situation in which the Komsomol committees and all youth take a more active position in the struggle against these manifestations, appealing if necessary to republic and all-union organizations and the party, soviet and control organs.

The fact that young people often approach production problems with inertia and in a neutral way, preferring to lay them on the shoulders of older comrades, is a cause for some concern. But we learn nothing from

this. It is necessary to work on this seriously and constantly, and to master the knowledge needed to become true masters of the economy. This applies to everyone, because today a knowledge of economics is essential in any sphere, even in work in a cultural establishment. Comrades, you must understand that the opportunities of our state are not limitless, and from our youngest years we must learn everywhere and in everything to consider the state coffers and use them thriftily. We must try to create all that is best and give it to our youth. But youth must learn to make rational and thrifty use of the riches it receives.

All this affects first and foremost the Komsomol guides and the leaders of our Komsomol organs. For as the production potential develops in the republic the role of the Komsomol organizations will grow steadily in solving some of the economic problems. For example, whereas today we are still in a position to keep constantly in our field of vision all the problems of staffing for our largest enterprises, at the level of the central committee and the local party committees, even in the years immediately ahead questions of the new replacements for the major industrial projects under construction should be dealt with directly by the enterprises, and hence become tasks for the local Komsomol organizations. Creation of the necessary cadre reserves should increasingly become their specific concern and their problem.

We have set about the construction of major projects, and the modern sectors are being rapidly developed. The most active participation of youth is required in the construction of the Caucasian transshipment railroad line, which will become for our republic, and indeed for all the republics of the Transcaucasus, a real milestone of the age. Already it is necessary to determine the degree of participation by the Komsomol organizations in these great and important affairs.

Or take the problem of forming cadres capable of confidently heading the cost-accounting brigades, whose numbers are constantly growing. For this is a new phenomenon in our economy. The leader of such a brigade should not only build up his relationship with his subordinates and with the administration correctly, but also be able to consider, analyze and master the basics of production planning.

This is why, in our view, each Komsomol worker should set for himself an individual plan for studying economic problems and mastering the basics of economic knowledge. Things must be organized so that economics becomes the main, chief concern of our entire society, and we should start with the Komsomol. Each Komsomol worker should gain a deep understanding of the problems of the economic mechanism, improvements in labor organization and wages, and scientific and technical progress. Only in this way is it now possible to enjoy real authority in the labor collective and to make people trust your skill and the ability to lead them, and your authority.

The years we have spent to get our party aktiv to turn its attention directly to the economy. And so I would like our youth to start out on its active labor activity already armed with the necessary knowledge. This is our great reserve for the future.

Party and Komsomol organs must try to achieve a situation in which young production workers fight for above-plan increases in labor productivity and additional reductions in output prime costs on the basis of accelerated scientific and technical progress and introducing the scientific organization of labor, all with a sound knowledge of and interest in the matter; and in which they act as initiators in useful undertakings in economy and thrift, improvements in output quality and the expanded production of consumer goods. The economic aspect of the labor semester and the labor quarter should be considerably strengthened. It is no secret that there is still much to be done on this sector.

Economic questions must be kept constantly in the field of vision, extending measures for the social transformation of the countryside and participating in the upsurge in livestock farming and other agricultural sectors. Our Komsomol displays many useful initiatives here but has only slight dealings with the economic aspect of the activity of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and for us this is a truly unexplored reserve.

We must try to make the Komsomol march in the first ranks of the struggle to strengthen labor, planning, financial, technologic and production discipline, and to wage this struggle with a knowledge of the matter and with the enthusiasm and interest that youth possesses.

The economic advisability of any given measure should be at the center of attention among our scientific youth. In this sense it is extremely necessary that the Komsomol organizations give active help to the party committees in introducing all that is new and progressive, and that they show great interest and activeness in establishing a businesslike partnership between scientists and production workers.

Resolution of the most important all-party task of perfecting developed socialism is linked in the closest possible way with the need to consistently improve economic efficiency. And the main highway to this goal is being laid precisely by science and scientific and technical progress. Scientific and technical progress should become for our youth a main and priority concern and a general direction of work. It is precisely youth that is called upon to achieve the practical realization of party demands to combine the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

Meanwhile it is no secret that the creative potential of young scientists is often wasted. Adequate concern is not always shown for the activity of tyro planners, designers and engineers. Things are even worse with student research work. There is no question about it, much has been done on this plane, and now the overwhelming majority of students have become

involved in scientific work. And so the time is even riper for looking at this from the economic viewpoint, from the standpoint of the ultimate return, and for considering the advisability of wasting the intellect of our student youth. We cannot be satisfied with a situation in scientific research work in which the themes of student research are almost completely divorced from practicalities and are of merely a descriptive nature. Research should be conducted on perhaps a minor problem but one that is of practical significance and needed by production and practice.

We do not raise these questions idly. Convincing examples from the history of science indicate the unique fruitfulness of young scientists, and in this connection the need for the most active determining of young people capable of scientific creativity, and their early involvement in real scientific activity. Incidentally, at our 6th Plenum we already set the task of working out a system for the early selection of talented young people with a proclivity for scientific work. This is the best way to effective augmentation of the republic's intellectual potential. And this means that the question once again arises concerning the duty of the scientist not only to develop science but also to educate his scientific successor, for nowhere has the need for teachers and mentors been felt so much as in science.

And if, for example, a useful development from a student design bureau is not introduced, the vice-chancellor's office, and the VUZ scientists, and the party and Komsomol committees should not stay silent. These questions must be raised at all levels. With their very first steps young scientists should understand the one truth that in science it is not only necessary to have a fruitful idea but also to defend it and prove its social and economic effectiveness. We are all very interested in these kinds of qualities in future researchers.

It seems to me that our organs for the management of scientific and technical progress--the State Committee for Science and Technology, the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the republic Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and others--should make better use of the possibilities of the student scientific societies and the councils of young scientists and specialists, both in the research establishments and in production. Unfortunately we still do not have many interesting initiative-filled developments from youth.

Under the school reform, henceforth, together with a general educational training young people will also receive occupational training. I think that here in the republic we must also start combining these two forms of training with a general mastery of economic and technologic knowledge in the secondary school. In our view, this is a very important aspect of occupational training for young men and women.

I say to you directly that within the republic many of the fine traditions of technical creativity by young people and schoolchildren have started to be lost. We must activate the work of pioneer palaces and pioneer

houses and of young technicians' and young naturalists' stations, and the schools, in this direction, and it is essential to show more concern to give our children access to the idea of invention and design from a very early age, and to insure that they become acquainted with the joy of scientific discovery. The party organizations must examine more frequently these questions of state significance.

We must try to achieve a situation in which youth is not left aside from the interesting economic experiments that are now being conducted in various cities and regions throughout the country. Indeed, youth has its own creative audacity and boldness and its own original thinking, uncluttered with the inertia of years of experience. As a rule young people are quicker than us, the representatives of the older generation, to restructure and master what is new. And the party, soviet and economic organs should make bold use of this aptitude during the process of economic experimentation. In addition, this is a fine school for shaping future leaders.

Just look at how our party and soviet cadres grow when they deal creatively with economic problems and are constantly focused on quest, and when they organize experiments and participate in them.

Thus, today the concentration of the efforts of Komsomol organizations and youth on the rational use and saving of all kinds of resources, and on improving work quality and raising labor productivity, and participating in the reconstruction and retooling of production is becoming an important factor in the future intensification of our economy.

We have not cited a great number of examples because the trends that we are talking about are obvious for all categories of our youth, and these requirements affect all party and Komsomol organizations. We know that definite positive experience has been gained by Komsomol participation in economic affairs and accelerating scientific and technical progress in the Tbilisi, Abkhaz, Adzhar, South Osetian, Kutaisi, Poti and Rustavi party and Komsomol organizations, and that there is much of interest in youth affairs in Telavskiy, Garbabanskiy, Khobskiy, Zugdidskiy, Makharadzevskiy, Tianetskiy and Sagaredzhoyskiy rayons. But all this constitutes only the first steps that must be taken in enhancing the role of the Komsomol in solving the most important economic questions. It is a duty for every minister, every administration chief, every party committee and primary party organization.

Nor have we focused your attention on specific economic indicators. These have been cited repeatedly at central committee plenums and meetings of the aktiv, whose materials have been widely carried in the press. We are confident that our youth is familiar with them, and after today's plenum will once again, with pencil in hand, carefully study all these documents. It will prepare them for the future.

Incidentally, the proposal that a separate accounting should be made for the labor contribution of our youth and that more information should be available on the numbers of young workers in the sectors of the national economy and on the level of their labor discipline, turnover among young personnel and so forth, deserves every kind of approval. Comrade V.G. Lordkipanidze spoke about this. It is not a simple task but we hope that the republic Central Statistical Administration will give real help to the party and Komsomol organizations in this matter.

A respectful attitude toward labor starts with the ability to assess it correctly. This is why the level of economic knowledge and economic work in our youth should be a subject of constant attention in all the republic organs and the local party committees, and a subject of common concern.

II.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the harmoniously developed personality should include a whole range of moral and political qualities that can be combined under a single all-embracing concept--political culture. It is our primary party and, if you will, paternal duty to promote a higher level of political culture in each young person, each youth, each young woman, each youngster.

The interpretation given to political culture can be very, very broad. However, its main content amounts to one simple and unadorned truth: the very broad democratic rights that are afforded each individual by a developed socialist society can be used only by he who conscientiously carried out his civic duties. This means, on the one hand, that a person's political culture presupposes a knowledge of his rights and obligations, and on the other, the ability to apply them for the good of society and the people. This position must be shaped from childhood, when the soil is most favorable for its perception.

And it is not just a question of the young person being more susceptible to an influence, of literally soaking up information. We must also be aware of yet another important factor that we often lose sight of during the process of ideological and indoctrination work with youth. All the best features that can be typical of the harmoniously perfected personality, such as love for people, internationalism, patriotism, self-sacrifice, striving for high deeds, openness of soul--all these features come from nature and are naturally present in each person. And in subsequent educational work it is necessary not only to be able to develop them but also to try to insure that they are not dampened or extinguished. And this sometimes happens if ideological work is conducted uncreatively, just formally, in a stereotype fashion. In this event the opposite reaction is sometimes seen, because youth always accurately discerns any dissembling and reacts very sharply to it.

All these factors must necessarily be taken into account during the process of perfecting the forms and methods of ideological work with youth. And it is even more essential not to lose sight of the fact that each new generation is invariably more informed and more developed than the previous one. Herein lies one of our blessings. Mankind is becoming wiser, more perfect, and it is simply criminal to brush aside this truth. On the contrary, this dialectic law-governed pattern of development must be used to the maximum.

The main thing is to observe undeviatingly the principles of dialogue and mutually respectful relations. The dialogue, of course, should be conducted by us, the members of the older generation, but it should be conducted with tact, honestly, openly and on a principled basis, not trying to ingratiate ourselves with youth and not trying to command it, remembering that even though on the social plane and in terms of life's experience youth has not grown as much as us, on the psychological and intellectual planes it is our equal, and if we really establish a dialogue with it, it will accept the life's wisdom of the elders with joy and readiness.

It is not possible always to bind a young person to a hard-and-fast truth. This either completely destroys his willingness to think independently or leads to a situation in which at the peak of such intellectual pressure he starts to give his own, deliberately false interpretation to the rich information he has at his disposal.

Youth must be given the opportunity to cerebration, must be allowed to discover things for itself and arrive with its heart at certain obvious truths. Only in this way are firm convictions shaped in a person, only in this way does he acquire the qualities of a political warrior.

At the same time, by expanding our dialogue with youth and underscoring its equality with us in many questions, and displaying constant concern and attention we must delineate with adequate precision the range of obligations laid on each person with respect to society and the state. We call the Soviet Constitution the Fundamental Law, and this means that it should be the fundamental law of life for our youth. It must be instilled into each young man and each young woman who receives his or her passport that he or she has become an equal citizen in a developed socialist society, and that means that along with the extensive rights afforded youth, great obligations and high responsibility are also laid on it.

In our relations with youth it is very important to delineate clearly where we are really concerned and where liberalism and turning a blind eye are permitted, to distinguish attention from cheap games, and so forth. When a student fails to show interest in his studies, and when he misses lectures and violates discipline, he should recognize that he is answerable for his own unseemly behavior. When a young worker fails to carry out his service and civic duties he should feel that society will not long reconcile itself to this kind of attitude toward things.

In general, comrades, it is time to approach more strictly and more objectively questions of the VUZ diploma for graduates, young specialists, workers and other youth categories.

In short, while showing daily attention to youth and concern for it, at the same time we must always be utterly strict and absolutely just, as becomes good parents.

We carefully considered the tasks for party organizations in the communist indoctrination of youth at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 14th Plenum, where it was noted that in recent times considerable change has taken place in the social cast of our youth and in its ideological and political qualities and its value system and moral ideals. All this presents for the party organizations and the Komsomol qualitatively new and more complex tasks in the ideological tempering of youth and in shaping in youth an internationalist world outlook and a profound sense of Soviet patriotism, and immunizing it against the influence of bourgeois ideology, harmful vestiges of the past, philistine attitudes and petty bourgeois psychology.

It is not happenstance that we have made internationalist and military-patriotic indoctrination, the struggle against private-ownership tendencies and the affirmation of socialist ceremonial paramount in the ideological indoctrination of youth. A very great deal has been done in this directing in recent times. Notwithstanding, there is still no proper system in this work and, what is the main thing, specificity, and the party organizations do not always find the proper tone in their dealings with youth. Accordingly, real results are sometimes not achieved in ideological indoctrination work.

In shaping political culture in youth it is essential always to show concern that every young person recognizes fully the oneness of personal interests and public interests, and that he understands well that the embodiment of his moral ideals is possible only through public ideals. This is achieved by day-to-day individual and differentiated ideological indoctrination work with youth and its individual categories.

Forming communist conviction in the rising generation is a central task for all party and Komsomol ideological activity. Tomorrow's realization of our long-term plans depends on today's indoctrination of the republic's youth.

First and foremost it is necessary to continue the struggle against formalism in ideological indoctrination work and wage an offensive on a broad front. Most plenum participants have spoken of this with great keenness. Following the adoption in 1978 of the joint Georgian Komsomol Central Committee Buro and republic Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education Collegium decree on the struggle against manifestations of formalism in indoctrination work, and the republic Komsomol meeting that everyone remembers, we did for a certain period create in the life of the republic Komsomol organizations an atmosphere of implacability toward the isolated manifestations of formalism.

Unfortunately, however, even here things did not pass off without the extensive use of campaign tactics and it might be said that a matter that started out well along the entire front was slowed down and hence the heat of the struggle has cooled off. Meanwhile formalism is proof not only of indifference but also incompetence in the party leadership over the Komsomol. Competence, responsiveness and active support in every useful matter--this is what should form the basic principle of party leadership over the Komsomol and the ideological indoctrination of youth.

Today I would like to say a few words on a very important direction in ideological indoctrination work, namely indoctrinating our youth in a spirit of socialist internationalism and patriotism. This is the basis of the correct world-outlook position by our youth, and in recent years we have carried out much restructuring of all this work, which was described in detail in the central committee buro report. It happens, however, that after the major acts have been implemented in this direction, we still let slip specific people. And indeed, an incorrect attitude and an improper understanding of internationalism and patriotism lead to serious deformation of a person's consciousness and his political cast of mind, and sometimes also to crime.

One result precisely of such work omissions and errors was the well-known incident at Tbilisi airport, when a group of armed bandits and renegades, real traitors to their motherland, tried to hijack an aircraft. Of course, this is cause for the most profound and serious thought, primarily about our omissions in ideological and indoctrination work, and our responsibility for the fate of young people who have broken with society.

On the other hand, however, look at the light in which bourgeois propaganda tried to present this fact, interpreting it in a distorted fashion to the advantage of its own plans and trying to make political capital out of it. Even though it is quite obvious that air banditry is very dangerous and threatens the lives of people and rightly evokes their angry condemnation regardless of the society or state in which it takes place.

A bandit is a bandit. And we have never denied that even under our conditions anomalous actions and crimes by isolated individuals are possible, that they have still not been completely eradicated. The main thing is something else, namely that society itself be capable of opposing such deviations. And our people have always opposed them with moral purity, cohesion, firmness and courage, and have always been merciless with traitors.

Bourgeois propaganda has passed over in total silence this aspect of the incident, despite the fact that it is exactly typical and reflects the position of most people. For the members of the aircraft crew showed themselves to be true heroes, people of great courage, the product of our party and Komsomol, of our people. I would go further, and say that they are the real Matrosova's, Gamtsemlidze's and Rukhadze's of

the present day, ready, like their counterparts in those harsh days of war, to give their lives for the motherland without even thinking about it, and to fulfill their civic and service duties. It is not just chance that two of them in these peacetime days were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, while the others were awarded high state tributes. The passengers on the aircraft also conducted themselves courageously, confirming the idea that there is always room on life for great exploits. An absolute majority of Soviet people are prepared for such an exploit, and we are proud of them.

At the same time, however, we have seen how isolated individual personalities outside the range of our activities can bring harm to the entire republic and to our society. From where in our reality come such antisocial manifestations that sometimes have to be dealt with in open battle? Studying the family atmosphere and all the circumstances and facts leading these people to utter degradation and the loss of all that is human, we come to but one conclusion: the root of all this lies in only one thing, namely a private-ownership and consumerist attitudes and morals, and the effect of bourgeois ideology on the consciousness of individual young people. In the final analysis they can push them to open betrayal of the motherland and their people.

Under the guise of national exclusiveness these kinds of individuals do in fact try to assert their social exclusiveness and utter permissiveness, and to place themselves above the morals generally recognized by society. As they strive to achieve their ends they are prepared to trample any human and national values.

True patriotism consists first and foremost in recognizing from precise class positions the objective, historically formed requirements for the social and spiritual progress of one's own people and one's own motherland, and in promoting this progress through selfless, creative labor and the extension of all intellectual, moral and physical efforts.

I recall the beautiful words of Nodar Dumbadze, which many have quoted today: "It is always essential to remember that it is very simple and at the same time unbelievably important to be capable of loving people regardless of their nationality, and also to hate. [as published] And in general, first look closely at your own attitude toward any specific person and only then, if necessary, take an interest in who he is in terms of his nationality." And this kind of position is in fact fundamentally inherent in each personality, because a child reacts in the most direct way to the attitudes of other people. And if elements of national narrowness and seclusion are suddenly seen in a young person this is always some introduced effect and its roots must be sought in an unhealthy situation in the family, and in interruptions in internationalist indoctrination in the school, the VUZ and the labor collective and in society in general.

Comrades, it is essential to take into account the circumstance that it is very difficult, simply impossible, for a man to live without ideals and faiths. Comrade I.N. Tsitsishvili spoke eloquently on this subject. And if we are untimely in convincing him of the correctness of our ideas we shall not impart a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and then he will seek out any value system, perhaps, for example, he will run to religion or to baneful trends in his world outlook. Accordingly, the heat of ideological work with youth must not be allowed to cool even for a moment.

Look at how refined the ideology of the West is on this plane. In the United States alone, for example, 150 major organizations and 200 scientific faculties in the country are engaged in the problems of propaganda influence. At NATO headquarters a special sector on youth affairs functions. The degree of the intensity of anti-Soviet indoctrination of youth can be seen from the following facts: of the 22 regular programs on the Voice of America radio station, 13 are designed especially for youth, and broadcasting these programs takes up 70 percent of all air time on this station. Radio Liberty carries youth programs in 17 languages of the peoples of the USSR. Typically, during the period of crisis events in Poland internal and foreign counterrevolution made its bet mainly on the rising generation.

In the world where capital reigns youth serves as the object of a colossal intellectual and political pressure. Trying to divert its thoughts from real human values, the bourgeois propagandists spread among youth the ideas of political violence, mystical frames of mind, and racist and misanthropic ideas. Look how the Washington administration is sowing inveterate chauvinism among young people.

The fact that the methods of ideological indoctrination of young people under the conditions of capitalist society are so refined and developed is some kind of objective, law-governed pattern. For by nature young people are progressive and they long for everything that is fine and bright and they preach high ideals. The experience of our revolution shows this; when the best representatives of the younger generation, regardless of their social origin, became active participants in the struggle of liberation by the proletariat. Reactionary ideologists are well aware that they must not let up the pressure even for a minute on the consciousness of the rising generation, and that in conformity with the inevitable law-governed patterns of history it will march along the road of peace and social progress. And this signifies equally the demise of both capitalism and imperialism.

The ideals of our party fully meet the most progressive needs of today's youth, and they provide scope for its social growth and the display of its enormous creative force and energy. But this in no way means that we have a right to approach the problems of youth's ideological indoctrination superficially or in a stereotype manner. Particularly if we

consider that Soviet youth is not equipped under the conditions of our society to become enriched with practical experience in class struggle. This means that it is essential to display high political vigilance and to instill in young people a sharp class sense so that, in the words of comrade K.U. Chernenko, our youth "will not tremble or bow under the weight of its historical responsibility for the fate of the country."

And it is also important that there be no underestimation of certain adverse trends that are sometimes seen in the youthful medium. No matter how destructive their appearance, they require deep thought, study and analysis. For sometimes the ideological services in the West install an anti-Soviet content in a highly artistic form. And this must be carefully understood.

It is pointless to reject a modern fashion if it has come about objectively and is practical and fine. But it is essential to look very carefully at the kind of symbolism that sometimes accompanies it and contradicts the principles of humanism and sows the seeds of cruelty and violence. The interest of our youth may very well turn to foreign music, including contemporary music. However, it is essential to teach young people to distinguish really highly artistic contemporary musical works from those that pursue purely commercial ends. In short, it is necessary to guide all these processes, at the same time instilling in youth a love for what is best in the achievements of Soviet and national culture.

It is essential to provide an outlet for the enormous and sometimes unbridled energy of youth, and direct it into the proper channel. And we do not always approach this work with a proper sense of responsibility. In recent years public order in the republic has been significantly strengthened and the number of crimes among youth has been reduced. However, the criminal signs that are seen notwithstanding are cause for serious concern.

It is necessary to communicate real values to the young person and to explain where true romanticism is found, and to show its attraction in, for example, science. And without the very captivating possibility of saying our own few words about the innovations of which there are now so many both in the country and in the republic. But here what is required is extension of thought and definite preparation. And this means that our party and Komsomol organizations must act in this sector with more thought and more systematically and aggressively.

There must be significant improvement in the study of public opinion among youth, and youth's informal attitudes must be known. We think that not only the party central committee but also the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee should engage in this work more purposefully, so as to examine deeply all the problems and processes, and to guide and regulate them skillfully. The central committee is ready to give the necessary help to the Komsomol organs in creating such a mechanism. As previously, the social scientists of the republic do owe something to youth.

As we refine the communist indoctrination of the rising generation we should start this complex and multifaceted process from the earliest age, with improvements in indoctrination work in kindergartens, primary classes, general education schools and, finally, in the pioneer organizations, where active social maturation and the political shaping of the juvenile start. If we let slip this period, when the child is particularly receptive, then later we may encounter definite difficulties. All this once again shows that we must come to grips in the most serious fashion, deeply and in a principled way, with improving pioneer work and constantly examining the activity of the pioneer organizations so that our children become, not only in words but also in deeds, young Leninists and grow into our reliable bulwark, on both the moral and the political planes.

It is important from early childhood to teach a person to really love his motherland and to be a patriot in the highest sense of the word, and a reliable defender of that motherland. One very important direction in military-patriotic work is training youth for service in the army. Our Komsomol has traditionally been patron of the Soviet Armed Forces, and the role of the republic Komsomol organizations must be strengthened in providing them with replacements and making effective use of a great jubilee for this--the 40th anniversary of the great victory of the Soviet people over Hitlerite fascism. A.I. Shirinkin had some interesting things to say about this. We hope that all party and Komsomol organizations will develop an extensive campaign to greet this historic date in a worthy manner.

When speaking of the need for a tactful and considerate approach to questions of educational influence on youth the closest attention should be paid to use of that powerful ideological tool, literature and art. This primary duty affects the shaping of those who would take up this tool in their hands.

The indoctrination of creative youth is one of the most crucial and complex sectors of our ideological activity. Not only the future of our literature and art but also the spiritual potential of the entire younger generation depends on which aesthetics and aesthetic categories guide the young creative intelligentsia.

In recent times our creative youth has been provided with excellent conditions for the unfolding of its artistic mastery and talent. Opportunities have increased sharply for the publication of works by tyro authors and the creation of movies and theater productions and other words of art. Meetings of creative youth have become more frequent.

There are, however, still many unresolved problems, both organizational and purely artistic ones. Unfortunately we are still unable to talk of the creation by party and Komsomol organizations in the republic of a clear-cut, well-thought-out system for leadership over the creative processes, or a single structure for the further improvement of ideological and occupational training for creative youth. Comrade E.N. Shengelay's

speech dealt with the great backlog of questions here that need immediate resolution. There are still many miscalculations here among us in the matter of educating the creatively thinking individual in the secondary school and the VUZ, and during the period when he is student and in the period when civic maturity is shaped and a Marxist-Leninist world outlook formed.

Sometimes leaders, mentors, professors and eminent figures in literature and art forget that youth needs not only lessons in professional skills but also lessons in ethics, civic courage, a sense of principle, and party ardor and honesty. For Simon Chikovani, Sergo Kobuladze, Lado Gudiashvili, Georgiy Leonidze and for all eminent artists, questions of creativity, of morals and of indoctrinating a worthy succession were inseparable. Their lives have become for youth a real book of wisdom. Speakers here have several times mentioned the name of Nodar Dumbadze. There are many other fine examples. But this work must be expanded and conducted more systematically and consistently, and it should be conducted by both communists and nonparty people, and by representatives of the older generation, many of whom are present here today in this hall.

This is also particularly important so that we can successfully oppose infantilism, trivial problems, the imitation of western models, idolism and the philosophy of things, which are not only being spread among a certain section of youth but are also found in the midst of displays of creativity. Since Bachana Ramishvili and Georgiy Toreli it has been difficult to name a hero who has imbibed the features of the real communists of our time--uncompromisingness, intellect, moral purity--and who sets a high example for youth to imitate. The range of themes and problems that today concerns the young creators revolves most often around family conflicts and local concerns. But the times are always giving birth to heroes. The people working on the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad Link and the construction workers at the Inguri GES, our tea growers and grape growers, who last year won through in an unequal battle with the elements, and all our workers. Sometimes the creative workers from outside the republic deal with these problems more deeply and in a more interesting way.

Our recent art and our creative intelligentsia owe a debt to these heroes, and we are deeply alarmed about the reasons for a certain decline in the educational role of literature and art. Literature and art have always been moral catalysts for Soviet society. The heroic romanticism, communist conviction, the truth of life, actions and feelings, high patriotism, ideological conviction, and the moral purity of the heroes of the best works of Soviet literature, including Georgian, Abkhaz and Osetian literature, have helped youth in affirming not only their life's positions and their moral positions, but also in their labor and their love, shaping the personality and character. Today the main task for our creative intelligentsia, including creative youth, is to create highly artistic and highly ideological works in which the heart beats and the thoughts of our contemporary, our worker, our hero, are alive.

Mirza Gelovani wrote: "I am 20 years old and I bear the weight of a century on my shoulders." We would like our present generation of young men and women to feel in all its fullness, through the image of their own contemporaries, this responsibility of carrying a "century on their shoulders," the responsibility both for today and for tomorrow.

Our youth and the party press and radio and television can make a substantial contribution in this matter. There is much here that is of interest and deserving of attention. For example, almost half of television programs have in recent times been oriented on the youth theme, and this is as it should be. But it would be desirable for the newspapers and radio and television not only to publicize youth problems but also to become champions of useful initiatives and find ways for passing on material that transforms each young reader and viewer into an active participant in the creative process.

III.

Whatsoever the aspect of the formation of our youth's world outlook that we have touched upon, the force of the personal example of communists is of decisive significance in this important, all-party matter. And it is gratifying that almost all speakers have raised this problem. The moral-political position of our youth is inherited to a decisive degree from the older generation, and it is essential that this generation serves as a worthy model for imitation, as an example of the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Leninist Bolsheviks, and those who took part in the Stakhanovite [shock labor] movement, and those who defended our socialist motherland during the years of the Great Patriotic War. This was a real school for moral elevation and courage.

Representatives from many generations of the republic's Komsomol and veterans of the Komsomol movement are participating in the work of our plenum. Comrade N.A. Zhvaniya's speech about them was very passionate and convincing. I think that they all agree with him that the purity of our ranks is a most important condition for correct party leadership over the Komsomol organizations, a condition that imparts to us a moral right to be more exacting toward youth.

The fact that we have dealt with the problem of purity in the party ranks here at a plenum devoted to youth, and with the very broadest participation by our young colleagues, proves a great deal, since almost half of those participating in our plenum are young people working in the party and the Komsomol. The entire republic Komsomol Central Committee is here present, along with representatives of the Komsomol aktiv. We are discussing problems of party leadership over the Komsomol as companions-in-arms and colleagues, because we see your great interest and we encourage your initiative. And it is essential that this kind of collegial atmosphere be affirmed everywhere, in all party organizations.

Today this is the question: if we want to engage seriously in the indoctrination of our youth, then we must begin from the premise that we, as communists, must show a worthy example to the rising generation. If we want to improve work with youth then first we must improve work with communists. Henceforth we must enhance the personal responsibility of each communist to the party, and first and foremost those communists who are leaders.

We do have definite experience. There is party certification for leading cadres, when they give accounts of themselves in the party committee buros, and the appropriate testimonials are confirmed. There is also confirmation of the testimonials of those who are reappointed or proposed or transferred. There is enhancing the role of the primary party organizations and of the party committees and party buros in the selection and placement of cadres. The range of those being recommended is widening; they now include officials in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus and ministry and administrations chiefs.

And in this matter our approach is not merely a formal one. It is not a simple matter to confirm a testimonial, but hearings must be heard in the party committees on information on listed workers, and on how they are fulfilling promises and how they are eliminating the shortcomings noted in them. It is necessary not only to recommend a particular worker for a leading post but also to demand from him an accounting of how he is fulfilling the instructions of his recommender--the primary party organization or labor collective. Nor must we restrict ourselves merely to the advancement of promising comrades; we must also track their growth and help them in shaping themselves as leaders.

This entire process is directed toward further deepening intraparty democracy and it is a most important condition in the steady growth of official cadres. Periodic certification of leading workers and confirmation of their party testimonials is wholly in line with the statutory demands and instructions of comrade K.U. Chernenko, who noted at his meeting with workers in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus that cadre testimonials constitute one of the basic documents from which we judge cadres; and that things must be organized in such a way that the testimonial objectively reflects both the strong and the weak points in a worker; and that we should revive the fine old practice of systematically renewing the personal testimonials of people listed as central committee cadres.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has adopted a decree in which measures are outlined for the further expansion and improvement of democratic principles in work with cadres. It seems to us that this experience should be taken up and used by all the Komsomol organizations, naturally taking into account their own specific features. The more so since here questions of the selection and shaping of true guides and leaders are extremely urgent.

The future fate of various sectors of party, state and public life depends largely on how successfully we shall be able to select talented people for leading Komsomol work. For the process of training leaders is very complex and lengthy. And it is very important not to make mistakes in selection, right from the start. We need an active search for the recruitment of intellectual, intelligent and gifted young people for Komsomol work, and they must be led sequentially through the various spheres of activity, and their organizational skills shaped.

It must be said directly that our work here is still inadequate. We often experience serious difficulties with a cadre reserve that includes few knowledgeable specialists who can also act as good production organizers. We are often forced to invite for work in the party organs capable people who have never been Komsomol activists or with whom the Komsomol organs have lost touch. Many of them must be taught everything all over again.

On the other hand, the very process of cadre selection for the Komsomol has, in our view, become extremely formalized. Sometimes we attach too much significance to formal factors, failing to see behind them the vital young person in all his worth. And comrades G.D. Gabuniya, B.V. Adleyba, O.D. Kinkladze, V.M. Okudzhava and others were quite right to talk about this. It seems to us that it is precisely the Komsomol that is able to considerably simplify this system so that formal trivia do not prevent a talented young person truly devoted to our communist ideals from being sent on for work and advancement.

Within the republic party organization we are now initiating very complex and painstaking work to create a clear-cut, well-proportioned system for conducting in-depth studies of the business and political qualities of each communist. At the all-union conference of people's controllers comrade K.U. Chernenko made special note of the need for comprehensive control in the interests of further developing our socialist society, emphasizing that a society which by nature is not random but planned and has an organized foundation is a kind of society that will not go far without systematic checking on how it is moving toward its objectives.

As we turn to work in this direction we are starting with the party organizations and the strengthening of communists' mutual control. Time itself has set us the task of working in such a way that each communist will be, as they say, "open for inspection," and that, following the counsel of V.I. Lenin, the party organization can "know everything" about a communist. On the other hand, the communist himself should feel that he is always in the sight of his own party organization, that he is under control, that the well-known proposition that "the party has one discipline, one law for all communists regardless of their services or of the posts that they occupy," is not simply a line in the CPSU Rules, but a principle that a party member must follow all his life.

Before raising this matter for discussion at the present plenum we took counsel with many comrades, and they all considered that if the approach is not merely formal, hearing accountability reports from communists, with confirmation of testimonials in the primary party organizations, is exceptionally important and a quite timely and essential action promoting the purity of our party ranks.

It seems to us expedient to establish the kind of procedure under which each communist will be accountable to his own party organization at specified intervals, say every 5 years, or from party congress to party congress. Here, the procedure should provide that each time, at a party meeting, party testimonials containing specific and, possibly, frank assessments of work and behavior and his attitude toward matters and the fulfillment of party assignments--his entire way of life--should be reaffirmed each time. How, for example, he is bringing up his children and assuming his parental obligations. It should be a social portrait of each communist, with a characterization of his business, political and moral qualities and an indication of his shortcomings, miscalculations, errors and improper acts, with proposals for correcting the situation and eliminating the defects. And the communist should know that the time will come when he will have to report on a mandatory basis to the party organization what he has done with regard to criticism aimed at him, what conclusions he has drawn for himself, and how he has rid himself of shortcomings. We are convinced that this kind of approach, far removed as it is from the essence of mass party purges, will promote a strengthening of the party ranks and purge them of random elements.

Let us therefore consider and take counsel how to organize in a practical way the attestation of communists, their accountability reports at party meetings, and the confirmation of their testimonials. Let the comrades present their ideas to the central committee. Possibly the idea will be to form a solid, authoritative commission from the buro members, officials from the central committee apparatus, our scholars, theoreticians and practical workers in party building, workers from the mass information media and other comrades.

It must be said that in some primary party organizations comrades have already started on this work. And they tell us that the initial results are very interesting. Communists have approved this practice, and they do have things to say about each other, regardless of the posts that they occupy or the sphere in which they work. Those whose testimonials have already been confirmed include cadre workers and scientists representing the older generation, and young people and party workers.

Comrades, as an example they told about the thorough way in which they discussed the accountability report from a young communist, a student at the Tbilisi Medical Institute and member of the faculty Komsomol buro, one Murman Khvedelidze. All those speaking talked about him with

great warmth and noted the great labor path that he had trodden before enrolling at the VUZ, and that had played an important role in the shaping of his personality. He had been both a shepherd and a factory worker, and had participated in the reconstruction of the Zestafoni Ferroalloys Plant and served in the ranks of the Soviet Army. Despite all this, the communists at the institute also addressed certain requests to him that had been reflected in the testimonial confirmed at a party meeting and that would undoubtedly help him in his further establishment as a skilled specialist and active member of society. The same kind of principled discussion took place at the confirmation of party testimonials for the USSR state prize laureate, brigade leader Amiran Gelashvili, who is well known at the Tbilisi Electric Locomotive Plant imeni V.I. Lenin.

At the same time, during discussion of testimonials, along with the requests made of some communists sharp criticism was expressed, and on one occasion a party organizations issued a reprimand. And one party organization expelled a communist from the party for alienation from the collective, unworthy behavior, arrogance and other gross violations of the CPSU Rules.

In our view this is very useful work. Each communist should go through the process of self-improvement and self-purification so that he can say with firmness and conviction: "my conscience is clear before the party!" Things must be done in such a way that everyone can come to the party congress with a clear conscience.

And it is only thus, with a clear conscience, that we should apply ourselves to further improvement of party leadership over the Komsomol and to enhancing its role in the communist indoctrination of youth.

On the other hand, we must always show concern for enhancing the responsibility of members of the Komsomol to their Komsomol organization and the party. In our view, therefore, it is here also that we could start similar work, taking into account the specific features of the youth organizations.

As we enhance the responsibility of members of the Komsomol and young people we must also trust them more and assign them specific problems, and then ask them about their decisions. Comrade B.B. Gonashvili and others were right to raise these questions. It is essential to develop Komsomol initiative more broadly, and not to get involved in excessive regulation and petty tutelage, and not to create artificial limits to the creative search for bold and useful initiatives. Let our youth be bolder! As comrade K.U. Chernenko has remarked, we must not "keep it in swaddling clothers" all its life. "We must trust the Komsomol more," he said. But, to use his accurate expression, this trust should be exacting. And it is precisely exacting trust that the party committees should display every time they try to bring each initiative, each undertaking, each fine business to a conclusion.

Let our Komsomol become involved in concrete matters and be given concrete assignments. Why is it not possible to assign to Komsomol organs questions of the organization of labor, everyday life and leisure for youth at some of the enterprises, relying on their initiative and aggressiveness in solving acute problems? Of course it is possible. Or, for example, we have a serious situation with providing teachers and physicians for the high-mountain villages. Why should the Komsomol not handle the resolution of this question, monitor the allocation of VUZ graduates and their establishment at the local level, and inform the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the appropriate organs about all the discrepancies that occur? In my opinion this would also be useful for our Komsomol leaders and, most important of all, useful for the matter in hand. The Komsomol organs could completely handle improvements in the labor indoctrination of students and improvements in the operation of preschool establishments and kindergartens.

Things must be done in such a way that all members of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol Central Committee first secretary would be personally answerable to the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro for some specific sector of specific party work. The comrades have adequate experience here to resolve major problems, and, moreover, this would be a fine school for them. It seems to me that the party central committee department of organizational party work and the Komsomol leaders themselves could think about the directions, forms and methods for such work and submit proposals to the central committee buro.

The Komsomol raykoms and primary Komsomol organizations also have many untapped possibilities. We know the kind of responsibility with which the Komsomol leaders approach the assignments from local party organs and how energetically they act. It is therefore essential to assign them more practical matters. Raising the fighting spirit and authority of the Komsomol primary organizations and the Komsomol raykoms and gorkoms is a profound party matter. They should become real headquarters for organizational and political work among youth, and better defend its interests in the organs of state and economic management and the trade unions. Contacts must be broadened between the Komsomol organizations at kolkhozes and sovkhozes, scientific and creative establishments, VUZ's and schools, and the services sphere, and the Komsomol members at industrial enterprises.

A few words about the Komsomol Central Committee, on which the level of work by all the republic's Komsomol organizations largely depends. It is impossible to fail to note that recently there has been a significant improvement in the qualitative makeup of officials in the central committee apparatus, and that it has been reinforced with competent cadres from among the young communists who have gone through a certain school of life and have experience in production and in city and rayon Komsomol committees. Comrade V.G. Lordkipanidze has set to energetically on

this work, and we think that our Komsomol and all our youth have acquired a worthy leader. The level of preparation for and holding of central committee plenums and meetings of the Komsomol aktiv is being raised, and democratic bases are being extensively introduced in practical work. In short, much that is new and interesting has appeared in the style of the activity of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee apparatus.

What can we advise? Here is some advice for all Komsomol committees. Focus your main attention primarily on lively work directly among youth; do not shut yourselves off from the youth sphere; do not shut yourselves in your own offices; organize all your activity taking into account the needs and requirements of young men and women; recruit them more actively to resolve specific practical matters; do not shun the acute questions or burning issues; try to provide an answer for all the questions that worry youth; seize everything valuable and useful that comes from the local level; support any good initiative.

Thus, to improve party leadership over the Komsomol organizations in the republic and enhance their role in the communist indoctrination of youth at the present stage of historical development--the stage of developed socialism--means first and foremost to shape active political warriors, labor-loving young people, conscious, disciplined and highly organized citizens of Soviet socialist society, fiery patriots and consistent internationalists.

All these factors formed the basis of the draft plan of measures that plenum participants have received. It must be added to, taking into account the questions raised during the discussions. But in general the plan is very detailed, and what is important now is to do everything outlined in it so that it can be implemented and realized. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department and other central committee departments in the republic, and the central committee secretaries must establish strict daily control over realization of the measures outlined.

Again I would like to mention the meetings with Komsomol workers that have taken place in the central committee. We talked with them and we thought: still, look at our how youth has grown, look at the really state and party approach to problems that distinguishes our Komsomol members. And this has also been reaffirmed at our meeting today, which has really been graced with the representatives of our excellent youth. It was not possible to listen without real excitement to the speeches of our young colleagues and comrades Makvala Berianidze, Tamara Gverdtsiteli, Mamuka Kalandadze, Sapali Aliyeva, Merab Gachechiladze, Akakiy Dardzhaniya, Gamlet Meladze, Vadim Anastasiadi and Enver Nizharadze. They are knowledgeable, educated and politically literate people. Thank you very much!

And now back to the point. In my view it will be useful to make these meetings a systematic thing, to make the sector departments of the central committee meet regularly, at least once a quarter, with workers

from the corresponding departments of the Komsomol Central Committee, and also with individual youth groups. And these meetings could take place annually at the central committee secretary level. I personally intend to meet regularly with the members of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee Buro, apparatus workers and the Komsomol aktiv. I think that a similar requirement exists also for the other republic leaders and members of the central committee buro.

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Our discussion today is about youth. And this means that the discussion is about today and about the future, since youth has always been associated in our consciousness with the future. And we would like the future to be happy and beautiful.

The present generation of young people will live and create in the 21st century, at the start of the third millenium. It is here at the interface of the two centuries that we must fully develop their creative strength and possibilities.

The 20th century has been a watershed in mankind's thinking and world outlook. It has been the century of the victorious advance of Marxism-Leninism, illuminated by the rays of the Great October Socialist Revolution--the world's first proletarian revolution. And the best section of youth has always been associated with its destiny.

The 20th century has been one of outstanding scientific discoveries that have been truly revolutionary in terms of their essence and results. And youth problems have been tightly interwoven with the present scientific and technical revolution and its socioeconomic consequences.

And how will the politicians, philosophers, economists and historians view the 20th century? It is not a simple thing to look into the future. But isolated features can already be seen.

First of all, the historical competition between the two systems of socialism and capitalism will assume a new scale. For, as they lose one position after another, capitalism and imperialism are becoming increasingly reactionary and aggressive. Hence a very important problem for youth at the interface of the two centuries, namely the problem of man, the problem of war and peace, the problem of the existence of civilization on earth. For the first time in history a real threat has been posed to the very existence of mankind. The most important prerequisite for eliminating this danger is a strengthening of world socialism and growth in the economic and defensive might of the Soviet Union--the main, decisive factor in maintaining peace. This is our class duty!

In the future we must also be concerned with improvement in the economy of developed socialism, every possible intensification of the national economy, and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. It seems to us that it is a task of historic importance to enable youth to be successful in continuing the undertakings of the present generation of Soviet people.

The 21st century will demand from each young person greater political staunchness, ideological tempering and self-discipline, for these are the most important factors accompanying the further development and deepening of socialist democracy. In this connection, and also in connection with the rapid growth of economic potential and improvement in material well-being the problem of instilling reasonable demands in our youth is acquiring special significance. Moreover, by this we do not in any way mean that these demands should be artificially restricted or curtailed. Reasonable demands presuppose first and foremost a correct, reasonable attitude toward demand for society's material boons. A person should not strive to snatch from society more than it can give him at any specific moment, and at the same time he should make skillful use of those boons that society does place at his disposal. Instilling reasonable demands is a most important problem in communist indoctrination, because on abundance can satisfy what is mercenary and unbridled in the personality.

The 21st century will be distinguished by a further strengthening of the friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples on the basis of steady growth in the economic potential of each union republic and each nation and nationality. In particular the Georgian SSR must move on in terms of the most important socioeconomic indicators to the level of the leading regions of our country. By the end of the century it is intended to double the republic's economic potential. The most advanced sectors of modern production--machine building, including instrument building, the electrotechnical, electronics and radiotechnical industries, chemicals, metallurgy and so forth--will be preferentially developed. The agricultural potential will be doubled. We must almost double the generalizing indicators of intensifications, such as the productivity of social labor.

And, of course, with the aid of the party, soviet and economic organs, the republic's youth should clearly define its own place in all this painstaking, multifaceted historic work. It must learn and take up all the best things that our first generations of Komsomol people had--their ideological conviction, complete self-reliance in struggle and in labor, selflessness, an innovative, creative and revolutionary approach to any problem--and augment them through its own knowledge and its own high intellect.

The principle of succession, to which the party attaches great importance, is also seen here. We have noted on more than one occasion that by succession we mean not only the continuation of what has been started, but also the ability to develop it and raise it to a qualitatively new degree, to go further in one's own creative boldness and plans.

Our life is not endless. But our party's Leninist ideals are immortal, because they are inherited and developed and live on in the consciousness of our children and grandchildren, our young comrades and colleagues in the struggle for a bright communist tomorrow.

So, comrades, let us set to with the indoctrination of our youth on a daily basis, untiringly, each hour, each minute! Only in this way can we fulfill with honor the highest party duty to the people and insure a stable future for our great socialist motherland.

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REGIONAL

ESTONIAN PERIODICAL LAMBASTS INFLUENCE OF 'AMERICAN CULTURE'

Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian 10, 17 Aug 84

[Article by Lembit Remmelgas: "Dallas Culture"]

[10 Aug 84 p 13]

[Text] A Fistslug From Across the Ocean

Last spring a meeting of many West European cultural leaders and leading artists took place at the Sorbonne University in Paris. It was organized by the French government. Discussion centered on the importance and influence of artistic creativity on the intellectual life of nations. This was the way the agenda of the high-level international assembly read.

A large portion of the discussion, however, concerned American culture, or, more correctly, pseudoculture. It was discussed with great uneasiness how American mass culture, or, as it is often called, paraculture, moves into other capitalist countries and developing countries very stridently and very aggressively. This phenomenon is called cultural imperialism, a term that has been in use in the West for some time. It is also called cultural imperialism. The august assembly of statesmen and artists at the Sorbonne considered American cultural imperialism to be a great danger to the culture of their countries.

There was quite unanimous talk that the danger to European cultures begins with American film and TV production that, supported by millions of dollars, is ever more brutally invading movie and TV screens of other countries. There was talk of how a pseudoculture extolling the American way of life, corruption, chauvinism, and arrogant hegemony destroys basic human values, dulls and poisons the human mind and thought.

An American TV series, "Dallas," that has been shown for 4 years on many West European TV screens with no end in sight was repeatedly called an example of such inhuman and low-quality art. Jacques Lang, French minister of culture, also spoke indignantly about "Dallas" and that kind of "art."

Hardly had the minister of culture bid farewell to his colleagues and guests when the U.S. leading media became enraged and, in the truest sense of the

word, began to curse not only the French minister of culture but French culture generally, saying that contemporary French culture and artists add up to a flat zero. American culture was said to tower above everything else in the modern world.

Aggressiveness of American imperialism in military, economic, political, diplomatic, and every other sphere is well-known, but such a public and brutal attack on the culture of a great sovereign power was without precedent.

There has to be a first time for everything.

Kennedy Was Killed in Dallas

Murdering presidents is part of the American way of life. Not only murder of presidents, but murder in general. U.S. statistics show that more than 20,000 people a year are murdered there. Half of U.S. TV programs represent propaganda for ferocity, violence, and brutality. According to Harris Institute research an American sees at least 16 murders daily on the TV. Isaac Asimov, famous author of science fiction, says, "By looking at these things we become indifferent to violence and that is bad for the society. A people indifferent to violence are dangerous people."

The 35th President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was killed on 22 November 1963 in Dallas.

Why in Dallas?

Looking at the series "Dallas," even at just a few episodes, it becomes obvious why it had to be Dallas.

Dallas and "Dallas" are symbols. Dallas is a symbol of American corruption. "Dallas" is a symbol for justifying and extolling corruption.

Kennedy was warned. Do not go to Dallas! The warners predicted murder, naturally not on the basis of tea leaves. They knew very well what Dallas is. But Kennedy had to go. He too knew what Dallas is. New elections were coming and Kennedy wanted to become president once again. Dallas is in Texas--Texas is the biggest oil producer, the biggest grain producer, biggest in much more, and Dallas is the biggest industrial city in Texas, a great center of financial oligarchy, black reaction, racism, etc. Only there could such a grand murder be organized.

The action of the endless "Dallas" TV series takes place in that center, in the circle of millionaires and oil magnates, where everybody fights against everybody in the name of "free" enterprise, something that the current President, Reagan, extolls as the highest ideal of man and society. In the movie the struggle has been raised to the highest levels of brutality and inhumanity--a millionaire's sons are fighting over the inheritance, since that was their dead father's last will. The brutality is totally incomprehensible to a normal person. Why should a brother destroy a brother, for

what purpose? In the most horrible fascist death camp at Treblinka brothers were given knives and told to fight one another--the one killing the other would go free. Those refusing to fight were both killed.

"Dallas" has many imitators. In one of them, called "Dynasty," the main character playing an oil magnate and millionaire, expresses the purpose and ideal of such films and thus of the American way of life, "Men are wolves and sheep. Sheep have to be destroyed." Sheep are of course those who think that peace and happiness can be obtained by honest work. But paradisiacal life such as that of an oil magnate can be attained only by being a wolf.

Corruption has for a long time been a topic in American literature and art, only that previously corruption was considered a shameful evil. Now shame has become honor, evil has been named a virtue.

Some 10 years ago one of the first American series, "Peyton Place," was shown on all European TV screens. Here, too, there was a dispute over inheritance in a small town, on a small scale, concerning a small dying millionaire. There were honest, industrious, modest people who did not care much about the inheritance, there were dishonest ones who desired the inheritance. The corrupt caused all kinds of grief to the honest; one positive character was unjustly put behind bars. The action was exciting and absorbing, the position of the writers was clear--they condemned injustice, and a triumph of justice was to be expected at the conclusion. But suddenly everything was rapidly wrapped up, and the film ended somewhat inconclusively and artificially. Later it was learned on this side of the ocean that powerful men in America had put a quick end to the series--it was said to slander the American way of life by exposing corruption.

Perhaps at the time corruption was still something to be ashamed of?

A Crusade Against Culture

Imperialism is not only a "crusade against communism," proclaimed by President Reagan 2 years ago on 8 June in a speech to the British Parliament, following the model of several previous presidents. Imperialism is a reaction, a war on all fronts and in all directions, a crusade against culture as well.

Immediately after Reagan's arrival at the White House a conference of American "captains of the culture business" was held at the Hilton hotel on Long Gee island, chaired by none other than the president's national security adviser William Clark, later chief of the propaganda planning committee. Only a few lines were published about the meeting, the agenda was not discussed.

Now the agenda does not have to be hidden. For example, the weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT headlined one of its recent leading articles "American Culture on the Move in the World." The contents need not be summarized. It should only be added that the cultural attack is called in the article

"official and active American government policy" and that the government is making "generous contributions to international cultural exchanges."

It is becoming more and more obvious to the world that the word "culture" in the headline refers to mass culture, pseudoculture, or paraculture. Mitsuo Setoyama, former education minister in the Nakasone cabinet, said in office that the aim of U.S. cultural expansion in Japan was the "liquidation of our country's morals, customs, history, and traditions, and changing the Japanese into a race acceptable to American taste." This was said by a minister in a pro-American government. Jean Luc Godard, well-known French film director, says, "The cinematography of the world, especially of Europe, is endangered by a flood of low-quality American films. Even a mediocre film made overseas turns huge profits, while there is no place to show even the most brilliant film of a European director." In conclusion he poses the question, "Has not the dollar influence come into play here?"

Of course it has, and not only dollar influence. It is the active policy of the American government in the field of cultural exchange. American mass culture has for a long time been dominant in the movie and TV markets of Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, etc. with its "Dallas" calibre production. DER SPIEGEL reports with sorrow: "Americans, whose income amounted to 35.6 percent of all movies shown in the FRG in 1962, increase their share every year. In 1982 they already received 55.4 percent of total income."

At the same time screening of European movies, publishing of books, and exhibiting and circulating other art forms is rapidly declining in America.

The Blind Curse the Seeing

Imperialist reaction attacks not only the culture of other countries, but also culture of its own culture. It may be safely said--it attacks its own culture first. Everything has its beginning here, the "crusades," "cultural advances," great "liberation missions," and other such.

Some 150 years ago when Heinrich Heine learned in his Paris exile that his books had been burned in Germany, he reacted with the words, "What begins with burning of books ends with burning of humans."

Heine's predictions were fulfilled on an unprecedented scale in fascist Germany. On 10 May 1933 the German Minister of Popular Education (!) and Propaganda, Goebbels, erected a grand pyre in front of the Berlin University. Works by Heine, Brecht, Remarque, Th. Mann, H. Mann, Seghers, Barbusse, Hemingway, Solokhov, Tolstoy, London, Sinclair, Hasek, Liebknecht, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and many others, a total of more than 20,000 volumes, were thrown into the flames. And soon specially constructed furnaces were roaring in concentration, death, and destruction camps all over Europe, cremating millions of people.

Such a large pyre for book burning has not yet been built in the United States. But there have been smaller pyres, of "local importance." But it

is not the size of the pyre that is important, it is anything that recalls Goebbels' "cultural events," his thoughts and ideas.

Recently the CONNECTICUT ENGLISH JOURNAL wrote that since Reagan's inauguration students in schools are no longer permitted to read Mark Twain's "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath," Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice," and many other world classics, not to mention many modern works. There is a large center in Texas (of course, where else-- Dallas is in Texas) that regularly mails to all schools bulletins listing rebellious (according to the foreign term dictionary rebellion means resistance, uprising, unrest. L. R.) books and texts. These books are of course destroyed.

At the same time people are being destroyed. American imperialism destroyed 2 million people in Vietnam. "Green berets," "death squads" and all kinds of other blackguards trained in the United States daily destroy people all over the world. Recently a Salvadoran punitive company trained in America festively adopted the name of Ronald Reagan. In mid-April of this year Reagan signed a top secret directive, REX 84. This called for building concentration camps with a capacity of 200,000 prisoners on major U.S. military bases, "for use as needed." It is not known whether furnaces for cremation will be built in these camps.

There were many American scholars, political, and cultural figures at last year's great and most prestigious Prague forum for peace and against nuclear war. They provided depressing examples of the persecution of true culture in America. This has caused many casualties, including, for example, John Lennon. They told of how the proponents of true American culture are struggling against the imperialist reaction. And there are not a few of them. They can be trusted. Even Norman Podhoretz, chief theoretician of the U.S. reaction complains that "communist illusions affect many writers and intellectuals who are stubbornly blind to the values and advantages of democratic capitalism" ("Why the God Had Failed," 1983).

The blind curse the seeing.

[17 Aug 84 p 13]

[Text] Where Is Truth and Where Is Falsehood

"And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make ye free."

These words of Jesus Christ, as recorded in chapter 8, verse 32, of the Gospel according to St. John, are engraved in stone in front of CIA headquarters at Langley, only some 10 miles from Washington, and no less powerful than Washington. For they are of one flesh and one blood.

But the quote cut in stone is incomplete, inaccurate, because it does not tell the whole story. The gospel tells that Jesus Christ said this to the Jewish people: "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed;

and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make ye free." This is the complete quote. Perhaps there was not enough space for the whole truth on the slab, but perhaps the late President Truman--a Baptist and religious man who should have known his Bible--did not want to have the whole truth cut into stone when he created the CIA in 1947 during his term in office.

Bible stories are beautiful, beautiful and prophetic. Christ himself foresaw his fate and told the Jewish people outright: "Ye seek to kill me, because my word hath no place in you." And he went on, "Ye ware of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth." These very words are better suited to be engraved in stone in front of the CIA, for they have come to pass. Nobody knows exactly how many "disciples" the CIA has in the world, estimates say at least 200,000, or maybe even 300,000. What is known is that they have not known the truth; to the contrary, they have always twisted the truth and murdered those searching for the truth and fighting for it.

Bible stories are beautiful, beautiful and prophetic.

Does the Right Hand Really Not Know What the Left Hand Is Doing?

The CIA has often been called a state within a state. This is not accurate, it is a game of blindman's bluff that has been played for a score of years or even longer.

The resplendant "opening performance" of the game took place in the Playa Giron, Bay of Pigs, on 14 April 1961, lasted 72 hours and concluded when the CIA-dispatched bandits and cutthroats were "booed off the stage" in Cuba. This cost the United States \$63 million that had to be paid to Cuba for damages caused. This was not a large sum, but the United States had to admit that it was beaten.

It was then that there was an outcry everywhere in America, in all kinds of main and subcommittees of the Senate and the House, and in the press, charging that the CIA was a state within a state, acted on its own without congressional or presidential knowledge, endangered American reputation and basic democracy, etc. CIA chiefs told to many investigative commissions that the president did indeed not know anything. The "guilty" were punished, they were transferred to new comfortable jobs, and the average American was proud of his just and noble president.

Early this year a new American factual film "Kennedys" was shown on many European TV screens. In some places the film was even called the "Kennedy clan." Although the dictionary calls the clan a family, a tribe, it also calls to mind the Ku Klux Klan. Factual dramas just as factual fiction are a very modern genre in the world. Films based on actual events are very interesting to watch, even when the facts are presented one-sidedly or when the actors make actual people better or worse. Even so, learning or recalling a fact is interesting. Probably the series made Kennedy better than he was, in view of the approaching presidential elections, but there is barely

anything to prove that John Fitzgerald Kennedy knew before becoming president that the CIA was preparing for a piratical invasion of Cuba. But having become president he signed a memorandum approving operation "Mangust" that asked that "all available means be used to overthrow the communist regime in Cuba." And all means were indeed used--the American air force bombed Havana, the American navy hauled the bandits across the sea to the Bay of Pigs. Both Kennedy and the CIA had two scenarios: 1) if the invasion of Cuba is successful, Kennedy will get all the credit; 2) if it fails, the CIA will be made into the scapegoat and Kennedy washes his hands of it.

Now There Are No Longer Two Scenarios

All of the residents of the White House have always been anti-communists as long as the USSR has existed. Some have been wiser and more realistic, other simple-minded and unrealistic. For example, Roosevelt and Kennedy were realistic presidents.

After Reagan's arrival at the White House dual scenarios are no longer written. Now the activities of the CIA that began with international terror and became the embodiment of international terror, are no longer hidden. On the contrary, those terrorized throughout the world are termed terrorists and CIA activity is labeled a noble struggle against "international terrorism."

White has been made black, black into white. Terrorism has become part of official U.S. policy. No longer are they limiting themselves to training and dispatching illegal armed bands, by now all kinds of operative detachments and units of terrorists and punitive activists exist officially within the U.S. Army and Marine Corps. Their actions have been demonstrated in Grenada, Lebanon, and elsewhere. The Pentagon has even assembled a new special headquarters, called Joint Operations Agency (JOA), and its mission is to direct military interventions and subversive operations against unsuitable states in the entire world. This is being done completely publicly, officially, and according to military doctrine.

Recently the BOSTON GLOBE paid high praise to the policy of the U.S. government not to be stingy with money where CIA "secret operations" are concerned. Funding in this department has increased fivefold since 1981 (the newspaper says 500 percent) and the gigantic CIA headquarters at Langley is running out of space. For this reason construction of two new large edifices commenced only recently, in May. Considering and stressing the importance of the CIA Reagan himself found it advisable to place the cornerstone for the new complex. In his speech he stressed that the CIA had "great and noble traditions in the struggle against international terrorism."

The traditions are indeed great, and, as stated, they are no longer being hidden. The series "Kennedys" talked about the Cuban invasion affair. Henry Kissinger's memoirs tell of organization of the fascist coup in Chile and praise the roles played by the CIA, ITT, and the author in this "anti-terrorist" action. It is no longer a secret that the terrorist wave that hit Western Europe, Turkey, Japan, etc. in the late 60's and early 70's--

all those "Red Brigades" in Italy, ETA in Spain, the Baader-Meinhoff group in West Germany, "death squads" in El Salvador and other extremist, anarchist, Trotskyite, etc.--were and are in some form or another connected with the CIA. These extremely anti-communist gangs mostly use symbols with the star, hammer and sickle (Hitler also called his party socialists, even national socialist) and are a useful tool in the hands of the CIA for inflaming anti-communist hysteria. At the same time the American propaganda machine does not fail to report that once again "the hand of Moscow" is in play.

It must be said that this hysteria has infected large crowds of petit bourgeois in America and Europe. Not only the petit bourgeois, but even educated people--after the kidnapping of industrialist Hans Martin Schleyer by terrorists one of West Germany's largest newspapers, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, wrote in all seriousness that "the FRG is standing on the threshold of civil war" against the red menace. Goebbels' prescription that a lie repeated a hundred times will begin to sound like the truth is busily used by the imperialists.

Lies Have Short Feet, but They Travel Far

"The total propaganda war" that Reagan commenced in preparation for the "anti-communist crusade" immediately after his arrival in the White House naturally required a grandiose lie factory. And Reagan created it. It is much closer than the CIA, close to the Capitol, located in an ultramodern complex, bearing the title United States Information Agency (USIA). The mission of this gigantic agency is the development of concepts for ideological diversion, and the advancement of the administration's lies.

One of the most important means for importing lies is of course television, and one of the missions of Reagan's "lie factory" is the development of concepts for films. And hundreds of "star wars" appear on the screens of the world, all ending with a happy end for the Americans.

As a cooperative effort of Soviet and American progressive cinematographers a 20 episode series, "The Great Patriotic War" was filmed, shown on American TV screens under the title "The Unknown War." This strictly factual film was very successful in America and the Americans were told the truth about the Second World War, something of which half, perhaps even more than half, of Americans had no idea or only a very distorted idea. This was a very bitter pill for those advancing the "total propaganda war." Their truth (read and write: lie) had to be restored.

To their good fortune already in 1973 Herman Wouk, a factual novelist, had published his book "The Winds of War," 1,047 pages. This was now recalled and in February of 1984 a series "Winds of War," produced by the largest U.S. TV company ABC, was televised in America and immediately thereafter in Europe. The series lasted 15 hours and cost a record 40 million dollars. The mass communications media advertised busily and viewing the film was made almost mandatory for every American aged 12 and above. Herman Wouk's work has another part, "War and Remembrance," 1980, 1,382 pages.

These books and the film "Winds of War" are a colossal forgery of the history of the Second World War, and a fictionalized version of the proponents of totalitarianism--the world is divided in two, on the one side are fascism and the USSR, on the other the "free world," headed by the United States who are intellectually and morally superior to other nations. This superiority is reflected in the superpositive hero, a naval officer and presidential friend and advisor, who travels unharmed and bulletproof through half the world at war, advising the president and deciding who should be aided and who not. Should the British be helped or their fleet sunk so as to avoid it coming into fascist hands? Should the Russians be helped so that they could destroy a certain number of Germans, no less and no more than the Americans need? He attends a reception in the Kremlin, depicted as a wild drunk tavern, he travels to the front that is depicted as a kind of barroom brawl where the Russians by accident beat off a German attack, and from which he himself emerges without nary a scratch, groomed and well-pressed, so as to ask with his gracious superiority, "You seem to need a second front?" The underlying tenor of his conversation is, OK, we'll apparently let you win the war.

We who know war not from history books but our own experience know well that when the second front was established in June 1944, the war on the first front had gone on for 3 years and only 11 months remained until victory, and that the second front was established largely by fear that our army would arrive first. Of the fact that we would win not only we were sure 40 years ago this summer, but also Roosevelt and Churchill, not to mention those lesser souls.

The writers of the "Winds of War" film naturally made an inexcusable mistake when they mentioned the "second front" at all. But Reagan and his "lie factory" at that time did not yet have the needed concept. This occurred later, when Reagan went to France in June to mark the 40th anniversary of the second front. In his speech Reagan carefully avoided the term "second front," because this would have indicated that there was also a first front where the fate of the war was decided.

Be this as it may, Herman Wouk's books and movie depict the war as a U.S. triumph. The decisive event in the war was of course not the battle of Stalingrad, but the collision of some American and Japanese naval vessels somewhere around Midway island.

Conclusion

Films like "Dallas" and "Winds of War" are very popular. Millions of people watch them. The great mass interest forces the makers of "Dallas" to draw it out, the writers do not know when the end will come. In the meantime a main character died. A solution was quickly found, the character was dispatched to exploit colonial oil wells, and he perished on his way back so that those living could act on.

What is the secret of the popularity? First, it is obvious that the masters of mass culture have indeed acquired skills, techniques, and mastery in

using the emotional aspects of human culture. These films have great dramatic tension, they have suspense, the story line moves fast. But this is the classic requirement of art, something that we often tend to belittle.

Second, these films have an apparently "deep" psychological differentiation, up to sentimental exaggeration of human emotions--happiness, sorrow, grief, anger, love (oh, how hard is a millionaire's life!).

Third, these films have ideally positive heroes, unfalteringly striving toward their goals, unconquered. The hero of "Winds of War" is handsome, noble, wise, healthy, very delicate even toward his adulterous wife, bullet-proof in every situation, and, as stated, brave, prescient, etc.

Fourth, the background consists of glittering interiors and luxurious make-up, symbols of happy and prosperous life toward which one must strive (Every episode is like a fashion show).

Fifth, sixth, seventh, and much more that has been acquired by those advocating the American way of life.

I do not know whether it is indeed skill in using the emotional aspects, tricks, and manipulations. Perhaps all of this is merely packaging, multi-colored, eyecatching, enticing packaging with which the production of mass culture is exported throughout the world. Apparently so. The art of packaging is on a high level in America.

9240

CSO: 1815/1

REGIONAL

KAZAKH BURO DISCUSSES CADRES, PARTY ORGANIZATION

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] The regular session of the Buro of the Kazakh CP Central Committee examined the work of Chinkent Gorkom to select and indoctrinate cadres and create stable labor collectives in enterprises of the chemical industry. It was noted that the city has created and is now operating the major production associations Phosphor, Chinkentshina, and others. Enterprises of the sector are improving forms of organizing labor and providing incentives, resolving a wide circle of social-consumer issues, and creating the conditions for strengthening cadres.

At the same time, shortcomings were pointed out in the gorkom's work with cadres and creating stable labor collectives in enterprises of the chemical industry. Some of them are not devoting the necessary attention to improving the production and living conditions of the working people, or adopting brigade cost accounting and other forms of labor organization which promote the formation of strong labor collectives.

The Chinkent Gorkom has been instructed to raise the level of management of chemical industry enterprises. In accordance with the instructions of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade K. U. Chernenko, given at the February and April 1984 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary to improve the selection and indoctrination of cadres of all links, and take measures to create stable labor collectives. Special attention is to be given to the advancement of capable production organizers and educators of the working people. Improving work with cadres, strengthening labor and technological discipline, and timely assimilation of new capacities are to be the basis for ensuring that each enterprise fulfills state plans and socialist obligations for this year and the five-year period as a whole.

The session examined the work of the primary party organization of the Kazakh State Committee for Agricultural Technology to improve the style and methods of the activities of the apparatus. It was observed that the party organization has somewhat increased its demands on cadres to strengthen performance discipline and fulfill plans and targets for further expanding and improving the production-technical provisioning of agriculture.

At the same time, the party organization of the State Committee is still not manifesting the necessary persistence in resolving many issues of improving the style of work of the apparatus. In administrations and departments, most specialists spend their time preparing a multitude of written directives and all sorts of inquiries; they rarely make local appearances and give no practical aid to lower organizations of the sector.

The primary party organization of the republic State Committee for Agricultural Technology has been instructed to more actively influence the improvement of the style and methods of work of the apparatus, inculcate in leaders a business-like quality and high performance discipline, improve the state of control over the fulfillment of directives of the party and government, and local decisions, and activate the endeavors of commissions of the party organization to implement control over the republic apparatus.

The session also discussed the progress of reports and elections in republic party organizations. The decree passed on the question sets obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms the task of intensifying attention to report-election meetings, and carrying them out in an organized, business-like fashion, in an atmosphere of widely expanded intra-party democracy, mutual exactingness and high demands, and principled criticism and self-criticism.

Other issues were also examined.

12255

CSO: 1830/26

REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN CP CC BURO VIEWS IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 Sep 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of the work of the party organization of Kayshyadorskiy Rayon in the implementation of the decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum directed toward increasing the effectiveness of mass-political ideological work and in increasing its ties with organizational and economic work. In the decree adopted in this question, it was noted that the party raykom and the primary party organizations of many labor collectives of the rayon as a whole have improved this work and are more purposefully carrying out measures to provide for the political, labor and moral training of workers and for ensuring unity of words and deeds.

The party raykom and the rayon organizations and institutions are providing more substantial help to the party organization and to the collective of the key construction project of the five-year plan--the Kayshyadoris Hydroelectric Power Station. Valuable experience in the mobilization of collectives to implement production tasks and to increase their role in managing the economy and in creating a favorable moral climate has been accumulated at the Kayshyadoris Poultry Factory, at "Palomyane" Kolkhos, and at "Daynyay" Sovkhoz.

At the same time, the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro noted a number of serious omissions in the ideological, mass-political and atheistic work among the population of the rayon and it obligated the party raykom and the primary party organizations to pay primary attention to further strengthening of the ideological-political education of workers and to the formation in each of them of profound communist conviction, a feeling of Soviet patriotism, socialist internationalism, social activity, great vigilance, and responsibility for the common good. The decree emphasized the necessity of using all means of propaganda and agitation to develop in the workers a correct view of life and responsibility for the affairs of the collective and to instill a profound understanding of the fact that, under the conditions of a sharp aggravation of the international situation, conscientious and highly productive labor is not only an obligation but also the patriotic duty of every person.

The Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro discussed the preliminary results of the economic experiment carried out in the enterprises of the republic's local

and electrical engineering industries and confirmed the plan for measures to extend this experiment to other associations and enterprises. At the meeting, it was noted that as a whole, new management conditions help to achieve higher technical and economic work indicators: there was an improvement in the fulfillment of contractual obligations for production shipments; the tasks and socialist obligations were overfulfilled for increasing labor productivity, lowering production costs of output, and growth in profits; and the increase in the volume of production was achieved with less industrial-production personnel than planned. Along with this, however, the adopted decree paid attention to the necessity of a fuller utilization of the possibilities foreseen by the new conditions of economic operation. For this purpose, the sections of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the party gorkoms and raykoms were entrusted with providing for continual control of the specified measures to extend the rights of production associations and enterprises in planning and economic operations and with giving them practical help in this. It is essential to increase the demands on economic managers and party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations with respect to the strengthening of organizational and economic work in the labor collectives working under the conditions of the experiment.

At the Buro meeting, reports were heard from the first secretaries of the party raykoms S.S. Tamoshyunas and V.S. Budrikis on the situation regarding the production of livestock products and measures to increase its intensiveness in Kupishkskiy and Shyaulyayskiy rayons. In the course of the discussion of the question, it was noted that hidden among the generally satisfactory average indicators of the rayons are farms in which the plans for the production and sale of animal husbandry products to the state are not being fulfilled, and that the party raykoms are not taking effective measures to strengthen the economic situation of the lagging farms.

The Lithuanian CP Central Committee obligated the Kupishkis and Shyaulyay party raykoms, the rayispolkoms, the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] soviets, the managers, and the party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses to pay more attention to the further development of animal husbandry. Based upon the transition of animal husbandry to the intensive course of development, consolidation of the fodder base and improvement in herd productivity, it obligated them to achieve an increase in the production of meat, milk and eggs and the fulfillment of the plans and socialist obligations by each farm for the sale of animal husbandry products to the state.

In the decree adopted at the meeting "On the Work With the Letters of Workers in Questions of Labor Legislation," the Central Committee Buro pointed out the necessity of increasing the control by party gorkoms and raykoms and soviet and trade-union organs over the implementation of party and government decrees in questions of the legal work in the national economy. The ministries and departments were tasked with improving intradepartmental control of the observance of the laws on labor and with increasing the demands and responsibility of juridical services in this connection. Also, based upon the Law on Labor Collectives, they were tasked with systematically reviewing questions of labor legislation at the meetings of workers and with operationally eliminating the causes for the just criticism by workers and employees.

The meeting adopted decrees of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the republic on questions concerning the further development of the material-technical base of television broadcasting, better utilization of raw forest resources, and a more efficient use of departmental motor vehicle transportation.

The Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro also adopted a decree directed toward the development of international socialist competition between production collectives of the Lithuanian SSR and the Erfurt district of the GDR, the results of which will be presented on the eve of some memorable dates--the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR, the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, and the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet rule in Lithuania.

The meeting reviewed a number of other questions concerning the economic and social life of the republic.

9746

CSO: 1800/28

REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN CULTURAL PAPER CRITICIZED FOR WEAK IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 19 Sep 84 pp 1-2

[Report on the 17 September speech by P.P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, in the hall of the editorial staff of the newspaper LITERATURA IR MYANAS in Vilnius]

[Text] On 17 September in Vilnius, in the hall of the editorial staff of the newspaper LITERATURA IR MYANAS, P.P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, met with the collective of the editorial staff, members of the editorial staff, and directors of the creative unions and organizations of the republic.

Taking part in the meeting were L.K. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee; Yu. Yu. Kuolyalis and S.V. Renchis, section heads of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee; and other responsible party members of the republic.

The conversation was initiated by O.I. Aleksa, principal editor of the newspaper LITERATURA IR MYANAS. He spoke of the work done by the editorial staff in solving the tasks set by the party, in propagandizing the achievements of Lithuanian Soviet art and in strengthening the ties of creative works with life, and he made those in attendance familiar with the plans for the near future.

Speaking on the role of the newspaper LITERATURA IR MYANAS in the discussion of the current problems of the creative organizations, the cultural activity of the republic, the illumination of the achievements in the art of Soviet Lithuania, and the strengthening of ideological and educational work were A.M. Maldonis, chairman of the board of the Lithuanian SSR Union of Writers; K.A. Bogdanas, chairman of the board of the Union of Artists; and Yu. P. Nekroshyus, chairman of the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade.

P.P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

"I am pleased," said Comrade P.P. Grishkyavichus, "to meet today with the collective of the weekly LITERATURA IR MYANAS and with the managers of the creative organizations of the republic in attendance here."

"Our meeting is being held at a critical time--the fourth year of the 11th Five-Year Plan is drawing to a close. The workers of Soviet Lithuania, as of the entire country, are now doing everything possible for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

"The results of the past 8 months of the current year show that our country's economic system as a whole is striding forward confidently. The plans for industrial development are being fulfilled and output of agricultural products has increased. Significant successes have also been achieved in the development of our republic's national economy."

Further, in speaking of how the workers of the republic are implementing the tasks of the current year and the five-year plan as a whole, Comrade P.P. Grishkyavichus said:

"Significant progress is also taking place in the cultural life of the republic. Culture is an active and influential force that purposefully forms the personality of the new communist society, especially in the process of moral, ideological and aesthetic education. Therefore, the guiding role of the party, clearly determined in the decree of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is extremely important.

"Substantial work is also being performed in our republic to put into effect the decisions of this important ideological plenum and party policy in the area of culture.

"Broad organizational and creative work is also being carried out by the creative unions and societies, the Ministry of Culture and its departments, and other ideological organizations of the republic. With their help, broad masses of the population have access to cultural values. All of this should be reflected in our periodic press and other means of mass propaganda. In this area, an important place belongs to the weekly LITERATURA IR MYANAS.

"Your newspaper plays a special role among other periodic publications of the republic. This is a weekly that basically involves itself in questions concerning literature, art and culture and tells about the activity of our creative organizations and their members. It is pleasant to note that LITERATURA IR MYANAS is making a significant contribution to the further development of the culture of Soviet Lithuania.

"The public relates to the publications of the weekly LITERATURA IR MYANAS in various ways. There are many positive and sometimes--I will be frank--justifiably critical comments.

"It is good that in recent times in the weekly we often encounter fervent journalism and well-founded materials in counterpropaganda. It is pleasing that the most important events in the political and economic life of our country, questions of war and peace on the planet, and problems of individual areas of life and creativity are discussed in the weekly by the most renowned representatives of the republic's creative intelligentsia.

"LITERATURA IR MYANAS and its authors--writers and scientists--write in a businesslike manner and with much concern about ecological questions that are very topical for us. I would like to note a series of articles on nature and the environment of Druskininkay. These articles touched upon truly complex contemporary issues. Public concern and the voice of the press encouraged the city managers of the city of Druskininkay and the republic departments to weigh again and again and evaluate the work performed here and to take additional measures to correct the situation.

"It is very important for the corresponding organizations to support fair and constructive criticism and for those subjected to criticism to discuss soberly correct comments and proposals and not to strive to use all means to protect the "honor of the uniform." In this connection, a rather good impression was produced by a businesslike discussion in the weekly that made it possible to specify concepts for the restoration of Vilnius and other old cities of the republic.

"Failure is unavoidable in those cases when the criticism is not sufficiently well founded, when it lacks in-depth analysis and knowledge of the subject, and when they lump together diverse phenomena or are not fully responsible in dealing with the facts. In our view, such was the conversation published by the editorial staff on the republic's parks for culture and recreation. Such incomplete works and superficial publications are useful neither to the newspaper nor to the society.

"LITERATURA IR MYANAS has its own themes and set of problems, its own style and orientation. The newspaper should not mimic our other press organs. Along with cultural subjects, however, more should be written about the most topical problems in the development of our intellectual life, and our people, especially young people, should be imbued more convincingly with feelings of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism and friendship of nations. All of the printed material must effectively serve the business of communist construction.

"It is also very important to direct the sharpness of the journalistic pen more decisively against manifestations of nationalism, political indifference and Philistinism.

"In considering the heightened ideological struggle in the international arena, the activated clerical propaganda, and the frequent attacks of clerical extremists, more attention should be paid to problems of atheism and counterpropaganda as a whole. Some weighty words from our authoritative authors, people of the arts and scientists would be particularly useful here.

"As you know, the newspaper has heard considerable criticism of late in regard to the evaluation of the process of literature and art as well as separate phenomena, works and individuals. Naturally, there is no need to agree with everyone's tastes or to be in a hurry to fulfill every desire that is heard. However, the newspaper is obliged to adhere to strict principles and clear criteria--in a word, the party line. Of course, superficial praise helps no one, but it is harmful to underestimate or fail to mention good work. It is

essential to see the fruits of creativity and artists of all generations and styles and not to put them in opposition to each other but to try to consolidate them. This must be done with particular responsibility and a feel for proportion. In the world of creativity (yes, and in the creative unions as well), unfortunately, there are still people who, to satisfy their own narrow interests, sometimes attempt to use the press, the lack of principles of some journalists and the imprudence of the chief editors. And it is quite unacceptable when there is a clearly formed public opinion on a book or performance and the press comes out with a completely opposite review. Unfortunately, this has also happened repeatedly in the newspaper LITERATURA IR MYANAS. It is also an unworthy practice when, sometimes uncritically and proceeding from merely subjective criteria, works are not included in our rich creative harvest for review.

"It is therefore especially important that party weeklies and LITERATURA IR MYANAS cover and dialectically analyze the entire creative process, investigate the basic directions, tendencies and phenomena in its development, and correctly evaluate according to party positions the most notable achievements in individual areas of art as well as the negative aspects. A special role here belongs to criticism, which must proceed from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Not only should it be attentive and sensitive but also highly principled and demanding.

"Readers followed with interest the reviews and the discussions published in the pages of the weekly on the Lithuanian novel and on the trends in the development of our contemporary poetry and its relationships to the reader. It appears that despite some shortcomings this exchange of opinions was useful and helped writers, critics and readers to explain some fundamental questions of concern to many people.

"The article on Yu. Mil'tinis, Yu. Grushas and A. Gudaytis did an interesting job of illuminating the secrets of the creativity and the psychology of the creative artist, and the substantial conversation with S. Sondetskis attracted attention. Unfortunately, articles of this level and creative portraits of our best artistic personalities that help the reader or viewer to get to know and better understand the world of the artist are still infrequently found in LITERATURA IR MYANAS. This, by the way, is true for the entire press of the republic, which informs about the phenomena of literature and art but rarely analyzes them.

"Being concerned about the ideological and artistic level of works, the newspaper must also always place high demands upon the artistic works that it publishes. There has been improvement recently in the selection of works of prose and poetry. Here I would like to emphasize the responsibility not only of the editor but also of the author for every printed word.

"LITERATURA IR MYANAS has a competent editorial staff. Its work recently received a rather nice evaluation at the party meeting of the Lithuanian SSR Union of Writers, where the work of the editorial staffs of the writers' press was discussed. And nevertheless, several members of the editorial staffs could provide more palpable help to young critics in evaluating the processes and

phenomena of individual genres of art. It seems that it would be useful periodically to carry out joint conferences of editorial staffs and the managers of the creative unions and to discuss there the basic and fundamental questions of interest to both sides. Joint party meetings would also be useful. A relationship of businesslike cooperation must be established between the editorial staffs and the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Culture as one of the publishers of the weekly.

"We know that LITERATURA IR MYANAS is a sort of forge for personnel and that a considerable number of your newspaper's staff members have gone on to other more responsible work. Of course, new people are coming, young people who still lack skills in working in the press. But not a single issue is enhanced by an inaccurate fact, a distorted family name or a crude error in correction. At times, such seeming trifles lessen the value even of material that is otherwise good.

"It is essential to raise the responsibility of each member of the editorial staff and to increase general and technological discipline. All press workers are obliged to raise continually their ideological-political level, to expand their horizons, to study and to improve their journalistic skills. In this area, the Lithuanian SSR Union of Journalists could be more active.

"We think that the editorial staff of LITERATURA IR MYANAS is in a position to improve its own work considerably in accordance with the demands of the decrees of our party. At the same time, it needs significantly more specific help from the creative unions and their managing boards.

"We know the great significance of pleasant working conditions. The party and the government have recently been undertaking additional measures to consolidate the material base of the editorial staffs. It seems that such an attractive and aesthetic environment as you have here should contribute to more productive and creative work."

In conclusion, Comrade P.P. Grishkyavichus wished successful work for those in attendance.

Comrade P.P. Grishkyavichus looked over the new facilities of the editorial staff of the newspaper LITERATURA IR MYANAS, conversed with journalists and took an interest in their work.

9746

CSO: 1800/28

REGIONAL

TASHKENT HOSTS FILM PROPAGANDA MEETING

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 2 October 1984 carries on page 3 a 100-word article by T. Akhmedova titled "Screen Propagandist" that tells of the opening on 2 October in Tashkent of an interrepublic seminar meeting dedicated to the tasks of film propaganda in the light of the decisions of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The nearly 80 participants come from the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan as well as from the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Riga, Tallin, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Volgograd, Yerevan, and others.

HEAD OF TURKMEN SSR WRITER'S UNION DIES AT AGE 51

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 6 November 1984 carries on page 3 a 200-word obituary signed by Turkmen SSR First Secretary M. G. Gapurov and others, of Tyashli Kurbanov, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union and head of the Turkmen SSR Writers' Union. Kurbanov, a leading figure in Turkmen literature, died suddenly on 3 November at the age of 51.

CSO: 1830/105

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

BASHKIR TV RELAY--A new TV relay was commissioned in Baymak in Bashkiriya just prior to the GOSR holiday. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 11 Nov 84 LD]

CHELYABINSK OBLAST COLOR TV--The inhabitants of many settlements in Chelyabinsk Oblast are now able to watch color television programs from Moscow as a result of the Moskva satellite system coming into service in the Rayon Center of Oktyabrskiy. [Moscow Domestic Service In Russian 0700 GMT 9 Nov 84 LD]

ALMA-ATA RADIO/TV TOWER--A new radio and TV tower has been commissioned in the Kazakh capital. It will transmit programs on four radio and six TV channels. The 372-meter structure towers over Alma-ata. A new and architecturally original equipment and studio complex for Kazakh television was built at the same time as the tower. The range of the new radio and TV tower is roughly 120 km. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Nov 84 LD]

TASHKENT TV TOWER--A new television tower has been built in Tashkent. Its height of 375 meters makes it the second largest in the country after Moscow's Ostankino tower. Its up-to-date equipment will permit improvement in reception in the Uzbek capital of five TV and four radio programs. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 9 Nov 84 LD]

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DATE FILMED

14 Dec 1984